



STRANGE VIGOUR

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

JOHN NEWTON: A biography

THE ANCIENT MARINER AND THE AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE

WILLIAM THE SILENT: A biography for children

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SUN YAT-SEN

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STRANGE VIGOUR

A biography of
SUN YAT-SEN

By

BERNARD MARTIN



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A filial gift, in memory of

A. D. MARTIN

*"The high mountain, he looked toward it;
The distant road, he walked along it."*

The Book of Odes

(supposed to have been compiled
by Confucius, 551-479 B.C.).

CHECKED

Strange is the vigour in a brave man's soul. The strength of his spirit and his irresistible power, the greatness of his heart and the height of his condition, his mighty confidence and contempt of dangers, his true security and repose in himself, his liberty to dare and do what he pleaseth, his alacrity in the midst of fears, his invincible temper, are advantages which make him master of fortune. His courage fits him for all attempts, makes him the bulwark and defence of his being and country.

THOMAS TRAHERNE
(1636-1674)

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

IN 1949 the second East-West Philosophers' Conference discussed the possibility of making a synthesis of Eastern and Western philosophies and concluded that such a synthesis was possible in metaphysics but not in ethics. This conclusion would be depressing if it were not that a few diplomats have at last recognised the political problems arising from the fundamental differences in Western and Chinese civilisations. The life of Sun Yat-sen illustrates remarkably the nature of this all-important problem.

In *American Diplomacy, 1900-1950*, Mr. George F. Kennan, a former counsellor of the U.S. State Department, writes: "I see the most serious fault in our past policy formulation to lie in something that I might call the legalistic-moralistic approach to international problems. . . . This belief undoubtedly represents, in part, an attempt to transpose the Anglo-Saxon concept of individual law into the international field and to make it applicable to governments as it is applicable here at home to individuals." Mr. Kennan is not referring specifically to that one-fifth of the human race whose enduring and cultured civilisation was "moulded by Confucius"; but, in fact, his observation is peculiarly apt to the political relations of the West with China.

Mr. Michael Lindsay, speaking on the radio in May, 1951, suggested that the system of government which existed in China right up until Sun Yat-sen's time was mildly totalitarian, in that the scholar-officials saw to it that the educational system kept authority in their hands. This may be true; but it is more important to realise that about eighty per cent. of the Chinese people dwell in villages and that the villages are self-governing to a remarkable degree. When Sun, as a young man, committed an act of iconoclasm he was sentenced to banishment from his home not by any law but by a decision of the village elders—men who were his neighbours and who had been elected to their office by the village people. It has been well said that the Chinese village is less governed than any other in the world. How far this will remain true is uncertain, but such an ancient practice cannot be changed quickly, as Sun found: its influence is likely to remain, at least in part, for a long time.

Western aggression against China and a blind insistence by the West that China must "put her house in order" in accordance with Western ideas of law, made changes in the Chinese system of

government essential; and it was this problem that Sun tried to solve. His education at English schools in Honolulu and Hongkong and his training in Western science gave him a youthful enthusiasm for everything Western; but a closer knowledge of America and Europe convinced him that no Western political system could be transplanted to the Far East, still less to the unnumbered villages of China.

Until the beginning of this century the Chinese accepted the Confucian idea that good government depends entirely on the moral goodness of the ruler. Sun borrowed from the West the idea that good government depends on a good system of government; and he persuaded his country to become a Republic. But the most important difference between the Chinese and Western civilisations is in the conception of Law, and hence in the functions of government. Confucius said "the Emperor's law is humane feeling." This means that the law of the State is not a code or collection of legal precedents, but rather a statement of what is desirable for the common good; an exhortation rather than a rule which will be enforced. In short, Chinese justice tends to be moralistic rather than legalistic. How far Sun's Fivefold Constitution and his Three Principles of the People allow for this different conception of Law is debatable.

After Sun's death the Three Principles became the generally accepted programme for China. For instance, when his close companion in revolution Chiang Kai-shek took the Presidential Oath in 1943 he swore "to comply with the teachings of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and work for the consummation of the Three Principles." This implied the recovery of China's "lost territories" in Korea, Formosa and Annam; as outlined in the Sixth Lecture of the Three Principles. And this point was emphasised in the Presidential Oath by the further sentence "I will endeavour to recover our lost territories."

It is not necessary to doubt the personal honesty and sincerity of Chiang Kai-shek. When this book was written the remark made by Borodin that Chiang was "not enough of a personality" to become a leader of China seemed absurd; but subsequent events show that he was not able to cope successfully with the task he inherited from Sun. Perhaps no man would have done better. Chiang's failure was due to corrupt practices in his administration which he was unable to check, and to the failure of his party to implement the third of the Three Principles—which, in effect, means agrarian reform.

The Chinese Communist Party was small in Sun's day ; but some of its present leaders, including Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai, held relatively unimportant posts in his Canton Government. It remains to be seen how far the present Peoples Government will depart from Sun's programme.

There is a proverb "When you paint a tiger you paint his skin, not his bones; when you know a man you know his face not his heart." This limitation applies to all biography but especially to the life story of Sun Yet-sen. He was a revolutionist and, as such, moved about the world secretly, covering his tracks and destroying the very materials which are the bones of biography. Of the many letters he wrote only a few can be traced. Several addressed to Chiang Kai-shek have been published recently—in Mr. S. I. Hsiung's *The Life of Chiang Kai-shek*. One could wish that there was more reliable written material and less hearsay; for, as the Chinese say wisely, "A good memory is not equal to pale ink."

I am grateful to many authors and publishers for permission to quote, but it would be impossible to acknowledge fully my indebtedness. Chinese names are confusing so I have omitted all but the essential ones, and for the same reason I have used the simplest spelling; T'ai-p'ing becomes Taiping, and K'ang is Kang.

The impact of Chinese and Western civilisations is a two-way affair. It is easy to see the major effects of the impact on the Chinese; if the influence of China on the West is less obvious it is certainly profound and, possibly, more enduring. Sun Yat-sen lived through a crucial period of this impact and his life is a key to any appreciation of modern China. While I am very conscious of my inability to do full justice to my subject, I hope some readers may gain from this book a better understanding of one of the major problems of the twentieth century.

BERNARD MARTIN.

Danbury, Essex.
February, 1952.

THE NAMES OF SUN YAT-SEN

In China it is quite usual for a man to be known by different names at different periods of his life. The family or surname is unchanged and written first. His other names may be changed when he goes to school, on marriage, or at any other time that marks a change in life!

Chinese names are a little difficult for Western readers because their spelling in Anglicised form is often inconsistent. For example the name of Sun Yat-sen's brother-in-law, Dr. T. V. Soong, may appear sometimes as T. V. Sung or Sung Tze-wen. For this reason the number of Chinese names used in this book has been kept down to a minimum, but since the changes in Sun Yat-sen's name were significant they have been retained. The other Chinese names in the book follow no particular system of spelling.

The table on the next page is merely for ready reference.

CHINESE NAMES USED IN THIS BOOK

The reader is referred to the index for a complete list.

AH MI (in full, SUN AH MI): brother of Sun Yat-sen.

CHANG CHAU: a young *aide de camp* of Sun Yat-sen.

CHEN CHIUNG-MING: an officer in Sun's Canton government who turned against him.

CHEN, EUGENE: at one time secretary to Sun Yat-sen.

CHENG SHIH-LIANG: a student friend of Sun Yat-sen, later a military leader of the revolutionists.

CHIANG KAI-SHEK (or CHIANG CHUNG-CHENG): one of Sun Yat-sen's supporters and a close friend. Now President of China.

HUANG HSING: a military leader of the revolutionary party.

KANG YU-WEI: a famous reformer who opposed Sun's revolutionary policy.

KOO, WELLINGTON: delegate to Versailles Conference.

KUNG, H. H.: with Sun Yat-sen in Japan. Married Eling Soong.

LI KIANG-JO: a young revolutionist who was caught and executed.

LI YUAN-HUNG: served in the army under the Manchus but made a leader of the revolutionists during the 1911 revolution. Became Vice-President of China under Yüan Shih-kai and, later, was President.

LIANG CHI-CHAO: a popular writer and reformer, pupil of Kang Yu-wei. Later became a revolutionist.

LIN SEN: a senior member of Sun's party. Later became President of China.

LU HAO-TUNG: Sun Yat-sen's "doctrinal friend". Captured and executed in the first abortive rising.

LU SZU: the first wife of Sun Yat-sen.

SOONG, CHARLES JONES: a close friend and co-worker of Sun Yat-sen. Father of Eling, Chingling, Mayling and "T.V."

SOONG, CHINGLING: Madame Sun Yat-sen.

SOONG, ELING: Madame Kung.

SOONG, MAYLING: Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

SOONG, T. V. (or SUNG TZE-WEN): brother-in-law of Sun Yat-sen.

SUN FO: son of Sun Yat-sen.

SUN TAO-CHUAN: father of Ah Mi and Sun Yat-sen.

SUN WEN: one of the names of Sun Yat-sen.

SUN YEN (known as "Annie"): daughter of Sun Yat-sen.

SUNG CHIAO-JEN: a revolutionary leader, assassinated in 1913.

CHINESE NAMES

TAI-CHEONG (in full, Sun Tai-cheong): the childhood name of Sun Yat-sen.

TONG PHONG: a friend of Sun's student days.

TZU HSI: The Dowager Empress, known as The Old Buddha.

WANG, C. T.: an active supporter of Sun's party. One time General Secretary of Y.M.C.A. in China.

WANG CHING-WEI: Held various prominent posts in Sun's party. Also member of a terrorist group who tried to assassinate the Prince Regent.

YUAN SHIH-KAI: a politician under the Manchus and, later, President of China.

PART ONE

When the sun rises, I work.
When the sun sets, I rest.
I dig the well to drink.
I plough the field to eat.
What has the Emperor to do with me?

A Chinese folksong (c. 2500 B.C.).

There are other versions with a different ending. This translation is from a speech by Dr. James Y.C. Yen to The New York China Clubs, 1943.

THE MILK-NAME OF A NATIONAL HERO

ON THE twenty-fifth day of the ninth moon in the fifth year of the Emperor Tung Chih, a second child was born to the family of Sun, in the village of Choyhung. Westerners, always a little fussy over records and statistics, dispute the exact date but, officially, it is taken to be November 12th, 1866.

The head of the family, Sun Tao-chuan, was a middle-aged farmer, renting a farm that probably did not exceed three acres; and although, by Chinese standards, he was not sufficiently old to occupy any position of authority, he was widely respected and spoken of as a likely man to become, some day, a village elder.

As is usual with Chinese farmers, Sun did not live in a house amidst his fields but within the village. His home was a substantial dwelling of mud plaster mixed with lime and rice-straw; the roof and floors were tiled, the windows plain openings which could be closed by wooden shutters during inclement weather, although, since the climate is semi-tropical, there was little need for protection from cold. The furniture was simple; beds, tables and chairs being of plain wood.

The household consisted of Sun and his wife, a countrywoman about whom very little is known; their first child, a boy of fifteen, named Ah Mi; and the widows of Sun's two brothers. These brothers emigrated, about the time Ah Mi was born, leaving their wives in the Choyhung home. It was years before news came that one brother had perished at sea and the other in a Californian gold mine, but the widows continued to live with their husbands' family in accordance with Chinese custom.

Luckily the new Sun baby was also a boy, for the continuance of a family and the proper observance of ancestor-ceremonies can

be ensured only by sons; and, though Ah Mi had survived safely the dangerous period of childhood, it is just as well for a family to have a second son, lest a sudden turn of the wheel of fortune bring mischance to the first.

Respect for age was so great in China that birthdays did not begin to assume importance until after middle life and, usually, scant notice was taken of children's birthdays; but there was a day of great significance, within a month of birth, when a baby received his "milk-name". So the wife of Sun Tao-chuan prepared for the name day of her second boy. She took hen's eggs, which are symbolic of new life, and dyed them red, which is a good-luck colour; and then sent them to relatives and friends as an invitation to attend the ceremony. Those thus honoured did not fail to send back gifts of food.

On the auspicious day the baby, dressed in bright clothes, was ceremonially shaved all over his tiny head. Some of the guests put before the infant various articles, such as a pen-brush, a farmer's tool, or an abacus, for it was thought that what the child tried to grab would indicate his future trade. But Sun Tao-chuan's wife would have none of this, for already she had her own ideas on the subject!

The village of Choyhung is in the province of Kwangtung in South China and it is common in that part of the country for a child's milk-name to be associated with some pre-natal incident, some event taking place about the time of birth or to suggest some desired attribute or hope for the future. Moreover it is, often, a single name of one syllable to which is prefixed the common syllable "Ah", as in the case of Ah Mi. But this, also, was contrary to the mother's wish. She desired her second son to be called Tai-cheong.

When a man has achieved greatness queer stories may arise relating to his birth and name. Sometimes the stories are apocryphal or, coupled with a later interpretation, may even verge on the supernatural. There was nothing of this sort about the name given to the second child of Sun Tao-chuan, although, as a young man, he repudiated the name in a spectacular way. The mother's reason for the choice was clear and simple. In the village temple at Choyhung there were three gods, the centre one named Buck Tai: about a month before her boy was born Sun's wife dreamed that Buck Tai stood before her, his hair hanging loose, "as our people wear it in time of sorrow". He wept and looked on the woman as though very much worried. When she awoke her first thought was that the

- god feared the child, so soon to come into the world, would cause him some injury. It was a distressing dream; for so many mothers, all over the world, nourish a secret hope their babes will, in some unique way, serve their gods.

So, when the guests were assembled, the newcomer to the Sun family was given his milk-name, Tai-cheong, "he who serves the god"; and this name he took with him until manhood. Thereafter, as is the way of the Chinese, he chose for himself other names including the one by which he is known always to Westerners, Sun Yat-sen.

CHILDHOOD IN CHINA

- CHINA is a land where the statistician may perish for want of a few figures, where records are more romantic than mathematical, and we can only guess at the survival odds to be faced by the infant Sun Tai-cheong. That they were heavily against him is certain, for in the neighbouring British colony of Hongkong in the year 1900 only seventy-two babies of every thousand born survived twelve months.

During his earliest years Tai-cheong slept on the hard wooden bed with his mother and father but the Sun family were a little better off than most of their neighbours, and before long, he had a bed of his own. "I early learned to prefer a pillow made of a bag filled with beans," he told a friend. "It was not as uncomfortable as a brick covered with cloth, nor as soft as a pillow of tea-leaves."

The village of Choyhung, in the delta of the West River, about forty miles from Canton, is the same distance north of the equator as Calcutta, so that there is not a big difference in the hours of daylight all the year round. Sunrise is between half-past five and half-past six in the morning and the short twilight falls between six and seven in the evening. The Sun family got up at dawn and at once a meal was prepared for all who were able to do the hard work of the farm. Tai-cheong's mother was first astir and she, or one of the boy's aunts, lit the stove in the tiny kitchen behind the living-room and then cooked the thin rice porridge for breakfast. Above the stove was a large, brightly coloured, picture of the Kitchen God and Tai-cheong listened in awe when his mother told him that just before New Year's Day this Kitchen deity would return to Heaven to report on the behaviour of the family during the year. Dreadful things happen to naughty boys if the Kitchen God gives them a bad report.

He watched, with the mild wonder of infancy, his father's morning preparations before each day of toil. Sun Tao-chuan would squat at the door of the house washing his face in a basin of water, and cleaning his teeth; then, as part of the routine of life, he would light a stick of incense and, having bowed to the north and the south, the east and the west, he would take it in to the living-room and, bowing towards the little shrine where the names of the ancestors are recorded, place the burning incense stick in its holder before the shrine.

Tai-cheong had to wait for his first meal until the workers had gone and most of the housework was finished; then, at about nine o'clock, the rest of the family eat their breakfast. There was only one other meal during the day, usually at four o'clock in the afternoon.

At a very early age Chinese children learn to do little duties about the house, such as sweeping the floor or washing rice bowls and cooking utensils; but when Tai-cheong had finished helping his mother she would go off to work in the fields and he was free to play with the other small children of the village. They had home-made tops and kites, but few toys and most of their games were the adventurous ones that children make up for themselves. It was only a short distance to the shore of the great delta which at that time was the haunt of pirates—a very practical inspiration for children's games. Sometimes they played at soldiers, and it is reported that Tai-cheong won quite a reputation for his skill in stalking the enemy and capturing the troops of a rival band.

There were several shops in the village where a small boy could listen to the long bargaining between buyer and seller, and a tea-house where the village elders met in council and where travellers refreshed themselves and told incredible tales of distant places. The temple, too, had its festivals, such as the birthday of the village god, when a child's curiosity and interest were fully roused. Once a year there was a grand carnival connected with the temple. In preparation for this, gorgeous decorations were set up with lantern illuminations and elaborate fireworks in set pieces. Plays were performed outside the temple doors and, sometimes, strangers would appear in the village street and begin impromptu acting, perhaps with some religious or political motive. Death is an occasion for pageantry in China and village life is enlivened by picturesque funerals where the chief mourner, made-up like an actor with "tears of blood" on his painted cheeks, is followed by a procession of

bearers with great coloured banners and marching musicians. Almost as exciting for children is a marriage procession with the sedan chair, in which an unseen bride is carried to the home of the unknown future husband. It has been said that "the village in China is less governed than any other in the world",¹ and certainly there was enough going on in Choyhung to make it far from dull for a small boy.

When the rice crop was good the Sun family enjoyed prosperity by eating a little pork with their rice and vegetables; at other times they had to be content with occasional fish. At table there were correct places for each member of the family according to long-established custom. Sun Tao-chuan took the most important place, at the "upper end" facing south, the places of next importance being those facing west and then east; for the Chinese, as befits the inventors of the compass, pay great attention to direction in respect to the magnetic meridian. The Sun children were brought up to show deference to their parents, to eat every scrap of food put into their bowls without complaining; and, though mealtimes are usually jolly in China with loud talk and laughter rising above the click of chopsticks, children are not allowed to chatter in the presence of their elders—as the phrase goes "a child should have ears but not a mouth".

The farm land around Choyhung was overworked and, although the climate favoured several rice crops each year, the soil was too poor to allow for sugar cultivation although there were substantial sugar crops in other parts of the province. Partly on account of this poverty of the soil, the Sun family had to work very hard, everyone doing his or her part to gain a livelihood. There was, too, another rice bowl to be filled, for a girl had been born soon after Tai-cheong. At one period they were too poor to eat rice and were obliged to live on the sweet potatoes that grow easily on the half barren hillsides. It was, probably, on account of this economic strain that Tai-cheong's brother, Ah Mi, left home; emigrating to Hawaii, in spite of the fact that two of his uncles had perished in a similar venture.

Emigration, in time of economic distress, came naturally to the folk living around the delta, for there were waterways on which, at any time, small ships might be seen, and it was not far to an anchorage set aside for the large foreign vessels that brought white traders to China. An early recollection of Tai-cheong was of tales told him by one of his aunts who, before her husband ventured abroad and

met his death amidst the "barbarians", had lived within sight of this harbour:

"She declared that dreadful things were happening on those foreign ships and that it was not safe to have them around; that the foreigners were all rich men dressed in the queerest clothes and that none of them wore a queue; and that some of them had no hair on their heads at all but lots of beard, and sometimes the beard as red as fire. She had been told that when they ate they put sharp knives up to their faces. She further declared that one day she saw the smoke rising from muskets, of which they made very free use, much to her fear and perturbation. Ah! they were a rash lot, those Ocean-men, and good little Chinese boys would do well to stay away from them".²

It was not only nervous old widows who looked on the white-skinned foreigners with distrust. The so-called opium wars and the Treaty of Nanking in 1842 left a legacy of suspicion and hatred that, in country parts, is hardly yet spent. Before the opium wars were done, white men appeared in the villages of Kwangtung offering undreamed-of wealth to able-bodied Chinese who would go as labourers in the gold fields of California. Many thousands went and, though some few came back with crazy stories of lands across the ocean where the barbarians lived strangely and a man might earn enough in a month to keep a whole family a year, many were known to have perished by disease, shipwreck or accident and these calamities were all laid at the door of the "Ocean-men". More commonly they were called "Ocean-devils".

One of the most enduring memories of Chinese childhood is of the ceremonies connected with the Ancestors—ancestor-worship, as it is called sometimes in the West. How far these simple and impressive tributes to the forefathers of the family were observed by the Suns in Choyhung is not known; but when Tai-cheong was grown up he said:

"Choyhung . . . that is the hamlet of my birth, and the birthplace of my immediate forebears. I say immediate forebears, for we have lived only a few generations in Choyhung. The village of our ancestral temples is at Kung Kun, on the East River."

That Tai-cheong, the son of a peasant farmer, knew where his family lived eighty or a hundred years before his birth is not in the least unusual; for a few generations is but a short while in the history of any Chinese family. Sun Tao-chuan was a good Confucianist and even if he could not read, which is very likely, he had a mind stored with the sayings of the sages and was careful to

observe the ceremonies. This is not to say he was free from idolatrous superstitions. The religious life of a Chinese village at that time was a mixture of the magic of Taoism with its charms against innumerable evil spirits, Buddhist masses for the dead, and the lofty ethics and a respect for custom derived from Confucius.

When anything went wrong on the farm, or Choyhung was visited by the tail of a typhoon, or scourged with some spreading sickness; then, it was said, the gods were angry or some evil spirit was about his machinations. Tai-cheong was taken sometimes by his father to the temple; there to prostrate his small body before the three wooden gods, lacquered into a shiny semblance of ferocious mortals, to beseech their intervention in protection of the village. Buck Tai, the idol in the middle, seemed to Tai-cheong especially fierce, with one of his hands raised as though to command and the other brandishing a long-handled sword.

Years later, when Sun Tai-cheong was the man Sun Yat-sen, he fell in with an American, named Paul Linebarger, a Circuit Judge in the Philippine Islands, who recorded many of Sun's recollections of childhood. Some of these may be encrusted with adult reflections, and it is a poor mind that does not idealise its own past; but shorn of their reflections they are important.

One story, relating to the foot-binding of Tai-cheong's sister, can hardly be doubted. It was a widespread custom to bind the feet of little girls in order that the grown woman might have "lily" feet. This had nothing to do with the "seclusion" of women, as in other parts of Asia, for although the practice made it difficult for a woman to walk it was common to see countrywomen with "lily" feet hobbling about in the fields doing farm work. It was merely a fashion; as it was, at one time, fashionable in England for women to deform themselves by tight-lacing. The custom did not obtain in all parts of China and was rather unusual amongst the Cantonese, but Tai-cheong's mother had "lily" feet and despised women who had not. Naturally she wished her own little daughter to have the same advantage, for without "lily" feet a girl had less chance of making a good marriage. The process of binding the feet was very painful and night after night the child moaned in agony, unable to sleep. At last Tai-cheong pleaded with his mother: "The pain is too great for her! Please do not bind the feet of my sister." The absurd suggestion brought the obvious reply: "How can your sister obtain 'lily' feet if she does not endure the pain?"

There is another story of a similar protest against the practice of

child bondage, by which poor parents sold their daughters into another family where they became almost slaves; but this story may be no more than a memory of some playmate who suffered and whose suffering vividly reminded the mature Sun Yat-sen of an evil custom.

Two acts of violence observed by Tai-cheong are also recorded. One was an attack by pirates on a helpless village; the other, the unjust and illegal arrest of three wealthy brothers, one of whom was executed and the other two imprisoned, by the local Mandarin, in order to defraud them of property. Tai-cheong is credited with making childish protests against these iniquities but it is more likely he merely witnessed them and, in course of time, persuaded himself he had really expressed the indignation which came into his mind at the time.

The word "mandarin", taken from the Portuguese *mandar* to command, is applied both to the official language of China and also to a class of government officials. Choyhung, like almost all Chinese villages, managed its own affairs through the village elders, selected by the people for their age, respectability and, sometimes, for their learning as scholars. Loyalty to the village was strong but there was very little sense of national solidarity, as has been common for centuries in most of the nations of Europe. The unity of China was more cultural than political. A common written language and a common heritage of thought and customs bound together the Chinese people into the most enduring and, in some ways, the highest civilisation the world has ever known: but, politically, a citizen of China thought of himself firstly as belonging to a certain family, secondly as belonging to a certain village and only in a vague and remote way as being a Chinese. It is true the Emperor, the Son of Heaven, was a father to all the Chinese peoples and, indeed, stood between them and Heaven itself. He it was who yearly offered sacrifices to Heaven on behalf of his people.

The nearest direct representative of the Emperor to the people of Choyhung was a mandarin in the small neighbouring town of Heungshan, the Fragrant Hill, so-called from the hilly nature of the countryside and its semi-tropical fertility. This official had great power amongst the villages of the delta under his administration and it was futile to resist him in any way. He levied taxes in the name of the Son of Heaven and if he failed to protect the villagers from pirates and bandits they dared not protest. What happened usually was that the village elders made their own arrangement

with the pirates, paying them an agreed sum not to molest their village, and at the same time they grudgingly paid the government taxes to the mandarin. As to the mandarin, he was obliged to send a fixed sum to the superior official above him but there was little check on the amount he extorted from his district. The government in Peking was so remote that few in Choyhung had even heard of the capital city.

It must not be assumed that the civil service of China was always as bad as this. In many ways it worked well but towards the end of the nineteenth century it became thoroughly corrupt, as may be judged by a popular song:

We, the Chinese masses, fear our Mandarins,
But our Mandarins fear the Devils from the Ocean!"

The Sun family was called upon to collect certain taxes and hand them over to the mandarin. When the taxpayers became unable or unwilling to pay, the blame was thrown on to Sun Tao-chuan. Tai-cheong felt the anxiety of the whole family:

"Again and again I asked myself why did not the mandarins follow the moral teachings of the classics? Why should the so-called Son of Heaven permit such an unjust condition of the law. . . ."

The words "so-called" are from an adult mind but the simple indignation at an obvious injustice is characteristic of youth.

"Again and again I asserted to myself, 'surely there must be some remedy against this wickedness of the mandarins'."

Tai-cheong ventured to ask one of the village elders. He was told, "There is no remedy, for it is the rule of the Son of Heaven".

When, later in life, Tai-cheong gave this record to Linebarger he emphasised the ultimate responsibility of the Emperor for the miserable lot of the Chinese masses, because he believed that unjust mandarins resulted from corruption in the central government of the state. As a child he knew nothing of forms of government but he was unusually thoughtful and prone to ask rather searching questions. He was sensitive to the sufferings of others and had to a marked degree that consuming hatred of what seems to be unjust, which is essentially an experience of childhood. It was child-like, too, to see through the explanations and "reasons" offered by adults and go straight to the core of the matter. If the mandarins were unjust then it was for the Son of Heaven to put things right! But

at that time the Emperor was very remote from the indignant boy in Choyhung. Even in distant Peking the highest ranks of mandarins, when they came into his presence, knelt, and three times knocked their heads on the ground and remained kneeling until they were dismissed: and when the royal presence passed from the Forbidden City to his summer palace, the streets were hung with high screens of blue cloth so that the common people should not gaze on his sacred person. It is said in *The Book of Rites*, "The Son of Heaven must not be looked at above his collar or below his girdle".

SCHOOL DAYS IN CHINA

Of all the races of mankind the Chinese have been the most successful. Their civilisation has endured longer than any other and they are by far the most numerous single unit, the modern Chinese being "a more or less homogeneous ethnic type".⁴ One of the strongest chains binding them together has been their reverence for learning, which placed the scholar in the highest social class even though he were poor and of humble birth. The emperor Tai Tsung (A.D. 627-650), who did much to bring about this state of affairs, is credited with the saying "Learning is as necessary to a nation as water is to fish".

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that such a small and insignificant village as Choyhung had its school; though there were many villages without schools for, at that time, only a very small percentage of the Chinese people were literate. According to one who lived in Choyhung during Tai-cheong's boyhood, this school was not only attended by all the village boys but, contrary to Chinese custom, by some girls.

School began about six o'clock on summer mornings and a little later in the winter, the pupils being kept hard at work, with only short breaks for meals, until about five in the afternoon. There were no holidays, other than the break for the New Year festival and occasional odd days when the village celebrated the birthday of a god. But it is very probable that Tai-cheong was required to help on the farm during busy periods and he may not have had more than one or two years of continuous study.

The system of education was the common system used all over China and it had been unchanged for centuries. Every day was alike. In the schoolroom there was no blackboard, nor such attrac-

tive aids to learning as maps or globes, wall charts or diagrams. The sole aim of the school was to teach reading and writing; and this was especially difficult because the words spoken at home, in the fields and the tea-shop were quite different from the classical language of books. There are more than forty thousand characters in the Chinese language, each with a different meaning, and although even a good scholar does not remember more than about six thousand, each one has to be learned by heart. Tai-cheong was expected to learn a few new characters each day and he traced them with his brush-pen on a thin piece of paper over a printed sheet.

It was a hard grind and the children's first reading book was very dull. It was the *San Tzu Ching* or *Three Character Classic*, of rhymed lines in sets of three characters. It opens with standard Confucian philosophy, a literal translation of the first few lines reading:

When man begins
All good by nature.
Nature always near
Practice always far.
If without teaching
Nature will change.
Teaching with doctrine
Man always right.

Or, very freely, "Men at their birth are naturally good. Their moral tendencies are similar but their actions differ. If they go without teaching the natural goodness will change but if they are taught they will continue to be good."

After some more of this ethical summary there are examples of former great men who were exemplary schoolboys. When a child had mastered this wisdom he was introduced to such works as *The Hundred Family Names* (actually, a list of more than four hundred surnames), and some of the numerical series, such as *The Three Powers* (Heaven, earth and man), *The Five Virtues*, *The Five Elements* and *The Thousand Character Classic* in which none of the thousand characters occurs twice.

The teacher did not expect his young pupils to understand *The Three Character Classic* but he did expect them to learn the characters by heart. The meaning would be explained much later. There were no forms or classes in this school and each child had to learn his own set task by repeating it aloud. As the children were not all at the same stage there was a continuous pandemonium, every-

one shouting to hear himself above the general babel! When Tai-cheong knew his lesson he would go up to the teacher's desk, bow respectfully, and, having placed the open book before his master, turn to face the other way and then recite the passage. One day Tai-cheong protested:

"I do not understand anything of *The Three Character Classic*. What is the use of learning by heart something which I do not understand?"

The schoolmaster was horrified and one by one the children stopped shouting, awed into silence, for never before had a boy dared to speak thus to a teacher. The proverb says "Tread not upon the shadow of your teacher" and every Chinese had a profound respect for his schoolmaster; so honoured was the vocation that even The Son of Heaven showed deference to his tutor long after he had ceased to study, and an imperial tutor was the only person who might come into the presence of the Emperor without facing north, because the relationship was not that of subject and ruler.

Tai-cheong's protest cost him a caning but his enquiring mind was not silenced easily. Once again he asked:

"Why should I from morning till night shriek at the top of my voice things which I do not understand? They tell me to read and I do not understand a thing of what they tell me to read. Why not at least explain these things to me?"

The story of these futile protests was told by the adult Sun to Linebarger, but a critic has suggested it is mere fiction invented by Sun because "he had a reputation as a rebel to live up to".⁵ There is, however, no evidence to discredit the record and, since we find Tai-cheong at the age of seventeen performing a spectacular act of revolt against the ancient customs of the village, it is not difficult to believe that a few years earlier he sometimes asked awkward questions.

Years later, when Sun Yat-sen was trying to persuade his countrymen to reform the system of teaching in schools, he wrote:

"If we give our children ten characters to learn a day, and explain their meaning to them, they will know three thousand characters in a year; but if you ask them to write the simplest composition out of these characters, they will not be able to do it. As they don't know grammar and therefore cannot find the shortest way to write a thing correctly, they have to grope their way in the dark for several years. It is just the same as crossing a stream. If there is no bridge or boat handy, a traveller must go a long way round before he finds the way to cross to the other side. Truly unhappy is the lot of the Chinese."⁶

Is it too much to read into the last sentence the memory of wretched hours spent by Tai-cheong in his village school?

If the lessons learnt in school were tedious and somewhat narrow in outlook there was another lesson of the greatest importance that Tai-cheong learnt in his boyhood—a lesson which, at that time, was denied to the vast majority of Chinese boys. In spite of his aunt's warning against foreigners Tai-cheong could not fail to be interested in the wider world. His brother, Ah Mi, in far away Hawaii occasionally sent a letter home by some returning emigrant and these letters gave the Sun family a faint impression of life in a foreign land.

In Choyhung there was a tea-house where men met to gossip. Customers brought their own kettles and tea, paying only a very small sum for the boiling water. Here farmers would sit exchanging news of crops and market prices, changes of property ownership and such matters as in England fill the columns of the local newspaper. It was here Tai-cheong heard a returned emigrant talk of his experiences in California:

"I stood in the door of the tea house while he told the tale of his wanderings; of the great sea he had traversed for days and days, and then a fair land with mountains and water the same as in China, but with gold. Oh! so much gold! But there were men—called men of red and highwaymen: and they would kill for the gold. Ah! this emigrant told me a story I have remembered all my life. The emigrant declared that he always carried his gold in two parts: one very lightly concealed, so that when the highwaymen found it they would take it and go their way; while the other part, more deftly concealed, the emigrant would still have for himself. In our little Choyhung this tale greatly interested us, for we, too, knew what pirates were. What impressed me most was the lesson that it pays to divide with the other man; for, as the emigrant went on to state, some of his comrades, who wished to save their all, were killed."

Thus a small Chinese boy heard, at first hand, the same kind of Wild West yarn that at that time stirred the imaginations of boys in Europe, setting their young minds on thoughts of travel and adventure.

When Tai-cheong was about eleven years old Ah Mi came home on a visit. He was well established as a pioneer farmer of the low land around Pearl Harbour. There was a big demand for cheap labour in Hawaii owing to the rapidly developing sugar industry and South China was just the place to find hard workers with, perhaps, some experience of sugar cultivation. The government of Hawaii offered a bonus for every new worker brought to the islands and Ah Mi, who was a shrewd young man, had some scheme with

a Kwangtung friend to enlist emigrants and so obtain the bonus.

It was a great time for the Sun family when Ah Mi came home. There had been ill-disciplined government soldiers quartered in the district and they were feared by the villagers almost as much as pirates. The food they ate was never paid for and what with the money that had to be found to bribe the pirates and the exorbitant taxes levied by the mandarin, times had been unusually difficult. One half of the crops grown by Sun Tao-chuan went to the landlord as rent and any little extra expense meant less to eat. Now, Ah Mi turned up with a full purse and that meant more food. There were feasts to welcome the young man and feasts to entertain old friends.

At night, by the dim light of vegetable oil lamps with their smoky cotton wicks, Ah Mi told of the brave new world across the sea. There were no pirates there, and land was so cheap a man might buy enough to swallow up all the rice plots of Choyhung! Already he owned more land than he could manage to work; he had a nice house for his wife and children and a useful sum of money put away in an American bank, where it was out of reach of any bandits. He had done so well he was thinking of opening a general store, for with the great increase in Chinese emigrants there was scope for such shops. As a good business man he saw the possibilities—bring emigrants to Hawaii, getting their bonus, and then provide a store where they could spend their wages! But in Choyhung they thought Ah Mi was exaggerating when he declared that, in the islands across the ocean, the brown-skinned king copied the laws of the white Ocean-Devils; and had white men to see the laws were kept, so that they must be obeyed even by soldiers and mandarins! Who could believe such a tale?

When Ah Mi first went away from home, Tai-cheong had been little more than an infant; now he was a sturdy lad with a bright intelligent face, and the elder brother took quite a fancy to him. He would do well in Hawaii and, with a little of the white man's education and a knowledge of the difficult English tongue, might get a good job with one of the foreign trading companies; or, better still, with a British or American bank. At least he could learn enough to work with a Chinese business that sold to the rich white men. "If you do your duty to your parents at home," says the proverb, "there is no need to burn incense abroad," but Ah Mi saw that his brother's prospects in Choyhung were no better than had been his own.

It comes naturally to a Chinese to help his kith and kin and Ah Mi now proposed that Tai-cheong should accompany him back to

Hawaii. Nothing would have pleased the boy better, but in China the inclinations and interests of the individual gave place always to those of the family. So Ah Mi, having made his proposal, did nothing to press the matter for he knew full well the teaching of Confucius that a man may argue gently with his parents but, if their opinion is unchanged, must say no more. The matter was weighed in the balance carefully and judged in true Chinese fashion, calmly and with vision, the parents deciding and the children accepting their verdict. Tai-cheong was too young, said his father, and the risk of having both sons abroad too great. His mother, remembering the time of his birth and the names she had given him, knew that the god Buck Tai could not be served from across the ocean. Did not Confucius say, "While the father and mother are alive, a good son does not wander far afield"?

Tai-cheong was disappointed and it seems Ah Mi felt more than a passing regret, for it was not long after his return to Hawaii before he revived the suggestion by letter. Meanwhile Tai-cheong continued to run about the rice fields with bare feet, developing a quickness of muscle and general fitness that in after life impressed many who met him.

Sometimes, when Sun Tao-chuan could spare him from farm work, Tai-cheong put on straw sandals or coarse felt shoes and went to the schoolhouse where the old master was glad to accept his obeisance; for, if he sometimes asked unruly questions, he was without doubt the brightest of the village scholars. The old man thought, maybe this rich brother who lives with the Ocean men will enable the boy to come to school more regularly. With diligence he might go far. He might even compete in the official examinations and get into the civil service. Perhaps some day he would wear the button of a mandarin! The old teacher, dreaming of his own youth, imagined himself conducting this promising pupil to the great Examination Hall of Canton, which covered an area of sixteen acres with cells for more than eight thousand competing scholars. Into these cramped cells aspiring pupils took food, candles, writing materials and padded sleeping quilts and there wrestled alone for several days and nights with questions on the classics.

Success in even the lowest grade examination meant local fame for the scholar and very considerable reflected glory for his teacher. But Tai-cheong was not destined to tread the path of scholarship, with its ruts worn deep through centuries by vast armies of learned Chinese.

Years later his friend Linebarger asked: "Did you never think of running off, of getting on one of those foreign ships and making your way over to America?" It would have been easy for a venturesome boy to do so. "Ah no," replied Sun, "I could never have thought of that because that would have been against my duty to my people." The public-spirited American Judge interpreted "my people" as the people of China, but surely Sun meant "my people" in the English schoolboy sense of "my parents". The boy Tai-cheong must have known the *Classic of Filial Piety*, wherein it is said, "It is the nature of Heaven and Earth to have man as the most honourable of all creatures; and of all human conduct none is so great as filial piety",⁷ and this sentiment was the very foundation of Chinese family life.

Not long before he died Sun Yat-sen said, "I am a coolie and the son of a coolie. I was born with the poor and I am still poor. My sympathies have always been with the struggling mass," and, again, in a letter to a friend, he mentioned a time in his childhood "when he lay awake at night grieving for the sufferings of the poor and pondering over methods for their relief".⁸ But these comments were the retrospection of an adult mind and the lad Tai-cheong probably had no more than a vague, but none the less true, compassion for the troubled humanity around him. They were fellow human beings rather than Chinese and his firm sense of duty was to his parents and family. As he claimed kinship with poverty it must be remembered that Chinese social distinctions are very different from those of the West. The farmer "class" to which the Suns belonged might be nearly destitute but in the social scale they were second only to the scholar "class". Conditions in China are changing but at the end of the nineteenth century, merchants, business men, shopkeepers and soldiers were all the social inferior of the farmer.

Tai-cheong's opportunity to join Ah Mi in Hawaii was not long delayed for in 1879, when he was twelve years old, his parents gave their consent.

The childhood years in Choyhung were of more than ordinary importance for, apart from the strong influence early impressions make on a man's life, Sun Tai-cheong was never again to spend such a long period in his native land.

THE ENGLISH SCHOOL IN HONOLULU

Tai-cheong went aboard the S.S. *Grannock*, an English ship of 2000 tons, which relied on sails to supplement her steam on the three weeks' passage from Macao to Honolulu. She was packed with patient Chinese emigrants who made the best of their uncomfortable adventure with the two Chinese qualities that come uppermost on such occasions—good-humour of the Cockney type and neighbourly co-operation. None of the emigrants had more luggage than he could carry and Tai-cheong took no more than a cotton-wool quilt to serve as bedding, a small bamboo basket of clothes and, perhaps, some little gift from the family to Ah Mi.

Beside these material possessions he had nothing but a strong sense of adventure; the vague daydreams of a boy; an acquaintance with Chinese philosophy, gained partly from the precepts of Confucius and Mencius in the books he had studied in school and, partly, from the ordered philosophy of all Chinese home life; and a strong, but ill-defined, sense of revolt against the hard lot of a peasant farmer's life in a countryside beset by pirates and unjust officials.

He was going to a land described already by Ah Mi in glowing terms and there is every reason to accept Sun's own recollections in the answer he gave when asked what impressed him most when he went abroad:

"Oh, there was so much! But I think more than the wonder of the engine, and more than the wonder of the flaming boilers, was just a beam of iron that reached through one side of the ship to the other, to strengthen it. To me it appeared to be a most colossal affair, and I remember wondering how, with its great weight, enough men could get hold of it to put it into its place. This thought flashed through my mind, that the same mechanical genius that had made the great iron girder had also devised means to handle it mechanically. I immediately realised that something was wrong with China, for we could not do the things that the foreigners do. If the foreigners could make and raise into place those massive girders of solid metal, was it not an indication that they were superior to us in other respects?"

Linebarger comments wisely on this recollection; pointing out that in China, even more than in the West, the child is father of the man and that the child Tai-cheong was different from most adult Chinese of his time, who were so strong in their anti-foreign prejudice as to be altogether blind to the lesson of the ship's beam.

The boy was thrilled by the tireless engines that worked day and night; by the sight of smoke from the ship's funnel forever flying

away across the waste of waters like dragons in a cloudy sky; but he was witness of something that shook his first confidence in the Ocean men. One of the English sailors died and was buried at sea. Chinese funerals are occasions of excitement and splendour and Tai-cheong watched with horror the act of committing a human body to the deep. He understood nothing of the noble words of the burial service read by the Captain, but any Chinese child could have told these white barbarians that the corpse should be taken back to the man's relatives for ceremonial burial in the family graveyard.

The islands of Hawaii were discovered by Captain Cook in 1778. In 1820 missionaries of the Congregational Church of the United States began a process of civilising the natives, some of whom were cannibals. Fifty years later American influence was strong and there was a good deal of trade competition between America and England. In 1876 the United States signed a Reciprocity Treaty with the Hawaiians which tightened their hold on the territory. When Tai-cheong arrived, in 1879, King Kalakana ruled an enlightened community on western lines but there was already talk of annexation and what was called, quite correctly, "American aggression".

While Tai-cheong was in Honolulu he was under the control of Ah Mi and it is important to realise the strength of family relationships in Chinese life. Many things that a western lad settles for himself are settled for him in China by his parents or "the elders" of the family. In addition to the age-long custom that taught a boy "filial-obedience", the power of a father over his son was absolute. At this time a father might even put his son to death for unfilial behaviour; though, to be sure, such a thing was very rare indeed and would be tolerated by the community only if it were felt generally that the son deserved this fate. If the father was dead, or far absent, his authority was exercised by the eldest son. The reverse side of this duty-to-parents relationship was also definite; and an elder brother, acting for his father, accepted responsibilities without question—responsibilities which in the West are undefined and often unexercised. The Chinese have a proverb, "Brothers are hands and feet, wives and children but wearing apparel", and in *The Sacred Edict* is the maxim, "If your wife dies you can marry again but where will you find another brother?" These hyperboles show the importance of the brother relationship in the family system of China. Confucius said that the gentleman teaches brotherliness in a younger

brother in order that men may respect all who are elder brothers in the world.

So Ah Mi took charge of his brother when he landed in Honolulu. Already Ah Mi had branched into subsidiary lines of business including the general store, and Tai-cheong became at first an assistant shopkeeper.

Apart from family obligations, Ah Mi had a warm affection for his much younger brother, which in after years survived a good many strains. He wanted Tai-cheong to have the advantages of a foreign education, because his business acumen told him that a Chinese, proficient in the English language and in foreign ways, had a wonderful opportunity as a go-between, or compradore, in the rapidly increasing trade between China and the occident. Ah Mi farmed in the village of Ewa, but his business often took him into the city and with great enterprise he arranged for Tai-cheong to enter Bishop's College School which was also known as Iolani College.

The Honolulu Diocesan Almanac described the various missions and institutions run by the Church of England and headed the list of boys' schools with Iolani:

"For Boys. Bishop's College School known as Iolani College, a boarding and day school for boys of Hawaiian birth. Principal—The Bishop of Honolulu. Master—Mr. Abel Clark."

The fact that every boarder "should be provided with two pairs of sheets" is a hint of what surprises were in store for the new boy from Choyhung, who spoke no English and had grown up with a fond aunt for ever dinning into his attentive ears warnings of the sinister ways of the Ocean men.

The Bishop and his wife took a keen interest in Iolani pupils; had meals with them and attended their morning and evening prayers in the school chapel. All the masters were English with the exception of Solomon Meheula, a Hawaiian, who had been educated in the school and who now taught English to Tai-cheong. There were four other Chinese boys at Iolani, but it is likely they came from Christian homes or at least from homes familiar with western ways.

The students were forbidden to speak in their native tongue in order that they should perfect their English. Schoolmates of Tai-cheong say he was very studious, a common characteristic of Chinese boys. Very soon he knew enough English to read history and to study such subjects as geography and mathematics. Iolani seems

to have been run on very English lines. Arithmetic ignored the local American and Chinese currencies and dealt only in pounds, shillings and pence. History was English History and Christian doctrine was the doctrine of the established church in England. School discipline was also English. An American biographer suggests that "the atmosphere was saturated with monarchical ideas".¹⁰ If this were so it must have been almost the only unEnglish thing about Iolani, but it is more likely to be an American notion of what might be expected in an English school. Indeed, one of Tai-cheong's Iolani contemporaries said:

"If Sun Yat-sen got any idea of the struggle for liberty when at Iolani, he must have obtained it from reading English history, the wresting of Magna Charta from King John or the struggle of Cromwell against the autocracy of Charles I, and the development of constitutional government in Great Britain."¹¹

English history was the first indication Tai-cheong had that a people can successfully curb the power of its rulers and, as he studied, he drew a simple comparison between English historical notions and the fatalist attitude of villages in his own China.

Tai-cheong was impressed very strongly by the orderliness of his school days; by the selfless enthusiasm of the Bishop and the fairness and kindness of his masters. The Bishop emphasised that Christianity and progressive civilisation were complementary and he taught his pupils to beware of idolatry and to examine critically anything that looked like a superstition. Every Sunday the whole school went to St. Andrew's cathedral. Tai-cheong learned to sing Christian hymns to western melodies and, it is said, found a place in the cathedral choir. Years later Sun confirmed the comment of Linebarger that in Honolulu the missionaries "preached and practised the gospel of the Golden Rule . . . there were the proofs on every hand to show they were living truths that could be practised".

Tai-cheong, as a boarder, saw little of life outside the school during term time, but he spent his holidays in Ah Mi's home and his industrious brother found work for him to do in the store. Indeed, it seems that Ah Mi, in accordance with common Chinese practice, gave his young brother some very junior partnership in the business in lieu of wages. During these holidays Tai-cheong learned other lessons that were almost as important as school ones. He heard of the ways in which justice was administered in the Hawaiian law courts where Anglo-Saxon methods were followed. He saw that ordinary workers, whether native or Chinese, could improve their

* conditions without being cheated by unjust officials. Ah Mi had not worked any harder than his father but prospered greatly because the conditions of life were settled and the government administration was good. These were things that Tai-cheong's young mind sensed rather than formulated, but one of his recorded memories has the freshness of a child's view:

"The old Honolulu post-office still stands out in my mind very clearly. I looked upon it as a wonder house, for they told me that by merely stamping and addressing a letter and dropping it into a box I could send it back to China as speedily as a ship could go, without having to wait for weeks and even months to find some emigrant to act as a personal messenger."¹²

For many centuries the Chinese used a state courier service for official letters but ordinary letters were sent by private agencies through shops. The service was so unreliable that it was usual to write on the envelope a promise of further payment on delivery. Obliging travellers often undertook the carriage of letters for others.

Sun was to spend most of his life amongst foreigners and here in Honolulu he saw for the first time colour prejudice. American boys regarded the Chinese with their long robes and queues as "coloured" boys and despised them as much as they despised the native Hawaiians. Tai-cheong found this intolerance hard to understand for in his judgment the Hawaiians were gentle, straightforward and kind, virtues akin to the *jen* of Confucian philosophy which he learnt from his father in Choyhung; while the boisterous Americans were rough, ill-mannered and even unscrupulous.¹³ He never forgot an occasion when a westerner, meeting him on a country road, shouted "Damn Chinaman" and "various other epithets". When Tai-cheong realised the man was neither drunk nor insane but merely expressing a general hatred of all Chinese, he was amazed.¹⁴ How different from the precept of Confucius, "Even when contact is made with uncivilised peoples, kindly sympathy must not be withheld!"

On July 27, 1882, King Kalakana, accompanied by the Dowager Queen and Princess Liliuokalani, attended the breaking-up ceremony at Iolani. The sixteen-year-old Tai-cheong won the second prize in English Grammar and received from the hands of His Majesty the traditional English school prize of a well-bound book. It was written in English and was about China.

The strong influence of the missionary boarding school naturally led most of the pupils to baptism. All the Chinese at Iolani with Tai-cheong became Christians, some later being leaders in Honolulu

churches. It would have been strange if the same influences had not had a similar effect on Tai-cheong; but Ah Mi was surprised when his young brother dutifully applied to him for permission to become a Christian. Tai-cheong spoke firmly of his conviction and in so doing did not hesitate to ridicule the household gods in Ah Mi's home. Ah Mi was very angry and not only forbade Tai-cheong's baptism but wrote to Sun Tao-chuan in Choyhung telling him what had happened and recommending that his young brother's foreign education be discontinued. A letter came back ordering Tai-cheong's return and adding:

"I will take this Jesus nonsense out of him when he gets home. I will see whether he will abandon the religion and customs of his ancestors and take up with the superstitions of the foreign devils."¹⁵

There was a further reason for the lad's return to China. By Chinese reckoning he was now seventeen. It is hard for western minds to appreciate how seriously the Chinese regard the duty of marriage with a view to raising offspring who will continue the ancestral line. Mencius said: "Three things are unfilial and of these the worst is to have no offspring."¹⁶ Every boy approaching manhood had impressed upon him the necessity of marriage in the interests of the family and the matrimonial arrangements were made by the parents. The choice of a suitable bride and the date of the marriage were settled for a young man and a dutiful son would no more dream of failing in this respect than he would injure his parents in some material matter. The time had come when Tai-cheong's nuptials must be taken in hand and the family decided it would be as well to have him at home during the lengthy preparations.

So Tai-cheong left Iolani. He took with him not only the precious prize he had won but also an English bible and the habit of reading it.

PART TWO

"Deep the waters of the Black Pool, coloured like ink;

They say a Holy Dragon lives there, whom men have never seen.

Beside the Pool they have built a shrine; the authorities have established a ritual;

A dragon by itself remains a dragon, but men can make it a god.

Prosperity and disaster, rain and drought, plagues and pestilences—

By the village people were all regarded as the Sacred Dragon's doing.

They all made offerings of sucking-pig and poured libations of wine;

The morning prayers and evening gifts depended on a 'medium's' advice."

Po Chu—1. (A.D. 772-846.)

From *One Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems*, translated by Arthur Waley.

CRISIS IN CHOYHUNG

MENCIUS explained to a disciple that it is unwise for a father to teach his own son because a teacher may get angry with a pupil and that would strain filial-piety. When Tai-cheong was sent back to Choyhung his mood was rebellious. Hard work and quick success at Iolani had given him a glimpse of a wonderful new world and with the strong desire to learn, which is the inheritance of every Chinese boy, he felt bitterly the return to the ignorance and drudgery of farm life.

Two modern Chinese writers sum up the attitude of their countrymen to filial-piety in these words: "The virtues of filial-piety are so ingrained into us that to our minds there is no greater moral fault than offence against our parents".¹⁷ So there was a dangerous division in Tai-cheong's young mind.

Sun Tao-chuan was growing old. He was now a village elder with all the respect for tradition and customs implied by that honoured post. He and his fellow elders were responsible to the mandarins for the good conduct of the community. They decided if newcomers should be allowed to settle in the village and, to a large extent, they managed the affairs of the temple. The careful preservation of ritual connected with the family system was paramount with the old man and now his second son returned home with a bad report. Instead of the lad using his opportunity of Western learning in some business that helped the family, he was actually turning against his own people and had insulted his elder brother's household gods! It was a matter of grave concern to Sun Tao-chuan, for

if the boy did not mend his ways the whole family would be disgraced.

As to Tai-cheong, he was well aware of the grief his behaviour brought to his father, but the brightness of Iolani only showed up the gloom of Choyhung. The ceaseless toil of the rice fields was a poor exchange for the new knowledge of a Western schoolroom; the dullness of those who marked time beside him on the platform of a water wheel was a sharp contrast to the active minds of school fellows; and the dirt and superstition of Chinese village life seemed intolerable after the orderliness and Christian teaching of the Bishop's school. Tai-cheong reflected that the islands of Hawaii had been even more backward than Choyhung before the white men brought Christianity and their wonderful Western civilisation.

So Iolani stood between Tai-cheong and his family. He found it impossible to keep quiet when his elders talked superstitious nonsense and prostrated themselves before lacquered wood idols; or when he saw charm-treatments applied to sick persons; and daily witnessed the havoc of acute poverty caused, in part, by patient endurance of injustices and misrule.

It would be hard to exaggerate how much more such a spiritual separation means in China than in the West; and it was, indeed, fortunate that the lonely Tai-cheong, at this crisis in life, found just the friend he needed. Some years before a local man had gone to Shanghai and there built up a successful lighterage business which brought him in touch with many of the ocean-men. His son, named Lu Hao-tung, went to an English school in Shanghai and became a Christian. When the father died, young Lu returned to the Choyhung district and became acquainted with the restless Tai-cheong. The two had much in common. They could talk in the English language; they could recall lessons learnt from the foreigners; condemn the superstitions of their fellow villagers; dream of what they would do when the wheel of fortune turned and allowed them to resume their Western studies; and, above all, they could discuss freely the Christian religion. Sun Tai-cheong called Lu Hao-tung his "doctrinal friend".

To both these young men Christianity meant, first and foremost, a revulsion from idol worship and from all the fears of evil spirits. If the dread of devils and the necromancy of modern Taoism could be exorcized, the life of the folk around them would be immeasurably happier.

Another subject which attracted the two young men was the famous Tai-ping rebellion. Everyone in Choyhung knew something

of the curious story, for it began in their own province of Kwangtung; but, although the rebellion came to an end soon after its leader committed suicide in the year 1864, it was still a little dangerous to talk openly of such treason. The leader of the Tai-ping movement was a young man who twice failed to secure the first degree in the state examinations and, thereafter, became fanatically religious. Styling himself the Brother of Christ, for he had read a few Christian tracts, he organised religious societies with iconoclastic tendencies. Then the movement became political, as religious movements in China commonly do, and developed into open revolt. The leader, who by this time called himself the Heavenly King, issued a proclamation: "Our Heavenly King has received a divine commission * to exterminate the Manchus utterly, men, women and children with all idolaters and to possess the empire as its true sovereign. . . ." ¹⁸

This mention of the Manchus is the key which explains how such a crazy business became so important that it laid waste half China, and was suppressed only when the emperor called in foreign military experts, notably General Gordon, to lead "The Ever-Victorious Army". The Manchus came from the three eastern provinces of China and were considered by most Chinese as almost foreigners. In 1644 they drove the last Ming emperor from Peking and established the Manchu dynasty over all China. The Chinese made certain conditions before they accepted the Manchus as their rulers but, to show their servitude, all Chinese men wore their hair in a long queue after the Manchu fashion. In many ways the Manchus ruled China well but by the middle of the nineteenth century, if not a little earlier, the vigour of the dynasty was on the wane, corruption set in at court, and the régime became very unpopular.

What an historian has called "the ever-present desire of the great bulk of the Chinese people to see the last of the Manchus" ¹⁹ was capitalised by the Tai-ping leader and although the rebellion was crushed and bloodily avenged, this was done only with foreign aid. The Tai-ping rebels were nicknamed "the long-hair rebels" because they gave up the queue and wore their hair loose, in foreign fashion. What made the Tai-ping rebellion significant long after its suppression was that it so nearly succeeded in overthrowing the hated Manchus. To Tai-cheong and his "doctrinal friend" it was of interest, also, because it began as a movement to destroy the superstitions of idol worship and stood for social reforms that struck the Western-trained young men as highly desirable and by no means impossible of attainment.

The Manchus were hated especially amongst the progressive Southern Chinese but, such was the power of the government and fear of the mandarins, few dared to speak openly against them. It is said that Tai-cheong did so, at this time; and one story, at least, bears the stamp of probability. The commonest coin in daily use was called a *cash*, which had an inscription on one side in the Manchu language. Tai-cheong, as one who had a little Western learning, was listened to by some in the village, and to such an audience of curious men he held up a *cash* asking "Who is the ruler of China?" "The Son of Heaven" was the reply. "Is this Son of Heaven a Chinese? See on this *cash* the characters are not Chinese, they are Manchu." What a natural adaptation of the story of the tribute money in the New Testament! When little Tai-cheong at Iolani first heard the words "Whose is this image and superscription?" he surely had in mind not a Roman coin but the coin of his childhood, a *cash*.

On another occasion Tai-cheong is reported to have spoken more openly against the Peking government; telling his audience their petitions would do no good as they were probably not even read. "You declare," he said, "that the government is good and that it is only the officials who are bad. What is the difference between the two? What makes a government? When officials are corrupt, the government is also corrupt."

Perhaps there was not so much danger in talk of this kind as has been supposed, for the Chinese are a free-speaking people and according to one Westerner who lived in a Chinese village during the latter part of the nineteenth century, "the magistrate neither knows nor cares what is said".²⁰ But it was very different when Tai-cheong attacked superstitions.

One day an excited crowd moved around the precincts of the temple. It may have been during one of the festivals, when everyone went to the temple, or it may have been on some less spectacular occasion, for there was no regular priest but only a gatekeeper who would, at any time, open the temple and sell joss-paper and incense to a worshipper. In either case something happened that was sufficient to bring together a crowd from nowhere. No-one knew quite what it was but several small boys, who looked as though they would like to run away, were being questioned closely by some of the elders. Those in front listened and gradually scraps of news passed from mouth to mouth. Something terrible had happened inside the temple. Young Sun, who had been to a school of the

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ocean men and who told such unbelievable stories of the islands across the seas, and his friend Lu, who also mixed with foreigners, had been in there and insulted the gods! Buck Tai was damaged; some said he was smashed all to pieces; and the other gods, too, were broken. One child declared that Tai-cheong made a speech, mocking the gods and taunting their impotence. How could such gods protect the village, he had asked, when they could not even protect themselves? When the first wild reports subsided it was clear Tai-cheong was alone responsible, and that the actual damage done was not very extensive—a finger broken off Buck Tai and some damage to the idol's head; while the Goddess of Flowers, to whom was given the care of children, had her paintwork scraped off.

* The incident caused consternation in Choyhung; for gods who had been so insulted would, undoubtedly, withdraw their protection and almost any disaster might afflict the village. Women went home in fear, waiting for the unpredictable but certain blow and men cursed the Sun family and the foreign devils who so poisoned the mind of Tai-cheong. If there were any who rejoiced at the loss of face of Sun Tao-chuan, because of his son's folly, they did so in silence, for such an act meant loss of face for the whole village. News of the outrage would spread from place to place, to become an embellished yarn in some far distant part of Kwangtung where it might even be reported as an echo of the Tai-ping rebellion! Sun Tao-chuan was a deeply humiliated man when he joined the meeting of elders to discuss what could be done. Such disgrace was a new thing in the records of the family and it may be the shock was, in part, responsible for his death not many months later. As for the lad's mother, she must have thought bitterly of the dream that induced her to name her son "He who serves the god!"

It is to be supposed that, at some time, Tai-cheong's mother told him why he had been given that name and it may even have influenced him in the particular form his protest against idolatry took. The action was certainly not impulsive for even a rash man pauses before an act that he knows is sacrilege to those about him. Linebarger said:

"I doubt if he has ever done anything in his whole thinking life that has not been preceded by something of deliberation. Of the thousands of questions I have asked him, I know that he has answered none upon which he has not thought, and I have, at times, become fidgety in waiting, during a suspense period, for an answer."

It is not easy for Westerners to appreciate the courage and resolu-

tion needed for this act of the seventeen years old Sun. Its full consequences could not be predicted; but, at that time, a young Chinese was so much a unit in his family that any risk of a break with his parents was dreadful to contemplate. To leave home and settle elsewhere, without the active support of a family, was well nigh impossible. An outcast in China was in as bad a plight as a banished duke in a Shakespeare play.

The possibility of the matter being misinterpreted by the magistrate could not be ignored, but what worried the elders in their discussion was the anger of the gods. Soon their decision became known in the tea-house. Sun Tao-chuan must pay the costs of the repairs, which would be begun at once, and the unfortunate Tai-cheong, who was clearly a little mad as a result of his contacts with foreigners, must immediately leave Choyhung; then, perhaps, the vengeance of the gods would not fall on the village.

If men were not such poor judges of their own affairs there would be no curbing their amazing mental energy, and it is not surprising to find Tai-cheong describing the months between Iolani and the temple outrage as "the wasted year". Actually it was a very fruitful period. The fact that Iolani was a boarding school and that it was situated in a Westernised island, meant that the lad's experience there was deeper even than the experience of a boy attending an ordinary missionary school in China. The return to Choyhung showed his young mind, very forcibly, the contrast between Western civilisation and old China. Only "the wasted year" could have done this so thoroughly. It brought him also his "doctrinal friend" who, undoubtedly, influenced his decision to proclaim his Christian thinking at the great price of family discord and his own security. Incidentally, Lu Hao-tung, though no more than a spectator of the temple outrage, found it expedient to leave Choyhung and return to Shanghai. When next the two friends met the spirit of revolt was quickened within them.

A MARRIAGE OF FILIAL DUTY

It is a tribute to the strength of the family system in China that it survived the strain of Tai-cheong's iconoclasm. The boy was banished, with the anger of his father and the reproaches of his mother heavy upon him, but the family did not abandon its black sheep.

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There is some uncertainty as to what happened during the next few months, but a record of the Church of England Diocesan school in Hongkong shows that Sun "joined the school as a day boy in November 1883 and left in December of the same year. There is no information as to why he left the school."²¹ Four months later he was enrolled as a pupil of Queen's College, Hongkong, and remained there for two and a half years. The period of four months between the two schools is blank, but Lyon Sharman makes the interesting conjecture that during December 1883, Sun Tao-chuan died, and that Tai-cheong returned home for the necessary period of mourning. There is a great deal of ceremony in Chinese mourning and even in village life, where economic factors make the more elaborate ceremonies of the rich impossible, the son of a dead man is expected to wear sackcloth without hem or border, for seven times seven days. The rituals connected with death are hallowed by the teaching of Confucius and the sages but they are redolent of superstitions; as, to be sure, are most of the funeral customs of so-called Christian countries. To Tai-cheong, with his vigorous dislike of idolatry and superstitions, the funeral of his father must have called for some compromise and it served, probably, as a tug-back towards the powerful customs of his people against which Iolani had pulled to such purpose.

How it was that Tai-cheong met the school fees when he resumed his studies after his father's death is not known, but Ah Mi, now head of the family, sent money home and some of it must have been allowed to the younger brother. Queen's College took Chinese boys up to matriculation, though it was not until 1912 that Hongkong University was established. A striking feature of Queen's College was an insistence on education in Chinese as well as in occidental subjects; any pupil failing to reach the required standard in Chinese was not moved up to a higher class, no matter how successful he might be in English, mathematics and similar Western subjects. So it was that Tai-cheong increased the knowledge of the classics he had picked up in Choyhung village school.

Tai-cheong lived in lodgings, on the second floor of an unpretentious building, the ground floor of which was used as a Chinese boys' school. Several other Chinese, who were probably students, shared his humble quarters. The floor above was the home of a colporteur of an American Bible Society and of a young missionary, named Charles R. Hager, who had arrived recently from America.

Naturally Hager, struggling with the language barrier, was

delighted to find living in the same building a Chinese lad who spoke English quite well; and Tai-cheong, already an ardent admirer of Westerners, responded to the friendly approach of this enthusiastic young American. Soon Hager was asking Sun whether he was a Christian. Tai-cheong explained that he believed in the doctrine of Christ. "Then why do you not become baptized?" asked the missionary and Tai-cheong replied, "I am ready to be baptized at any time".²²

Hager refers to "some months of waiting" before the actual baptism and the record indicates that this first meeting with Sun took place soon after the boy went to Hongkong, during the short period at the Diocesan school. It was probably after the time of mourning for his father that Sun Tai-cheong received the ordinance in a Chinese schoolroom, "where," says Hager, "a few Chinese were wont to meet with me every Sunday". He added, "I saw a great deal of Sun, and always liked him". At the same time one of Tai-cheong's friends, a young man named Tong Phong, was baptized.

In 1884 Christian missionaries in South China were having anything but an easy time. Their faith was the faith of "foreign devils" and anti-foreign feeling was considerable. The little Portuguese colony of Macao, close to Hongkong, was noted for the abduction of Chinese for shipment to distant countries where labourers were wanted²³ and the many wild stories against foreigners believed by simple village folk were not without some foundation. The fact that Sun, at the age of eighteen, became a Christian in spite of the strong opposition of his family is remarkable evidence of his independence of character. But in spite of this break with tradition and his adherence to the religion of the despised and feared foreigners, Tai-cheong was not altogether free. The duty of marriage was imposed upon him.

On the thirteenth day of the fourth moon of the tenth year of the Emperor Kuang-hsu, Sun Tai-cheong married Lu Szu and, as was usual on marriage, took a new name, Tuck-mung. This name means "illustrious virtue"; but, while Chinese names are sometimes significant in meaning, it is possible for Westerners to make too much of them. We are inclined to forget our own names have meanings the point of which we overlook through familiarity. In the same way Chinese names may appear to us more romantic than they seem to the Chinese. This was probably true of Sun's new marriage name which was duly added to the family scroll but, in fact, never used by him. He continued to be known as Sun Tai-cheong.

The date of the marriage by Western reckoning was May 7th, 1884, and evidently by that time the trouble over the Temple outrage was forgotten, at least, sufficiently to allow him to return to Choyhung for the occasion. What difficulties the young Christian convert had to meet during the long and elaborate marriage ceremonies can only be imagined, but Chinese marriage is very much a matter of custom and has little to do with written law or religion. It is not so much the marriage that is binding as the formal betrothal.

Lu Szu had been chosen as a bride, some years before the event, the arrangement being made, through a go-between, by the Sun and Lu families. Neither Tai-cheong nor his bride had any say in the matter and prior to the actual ceremony had not met.

On the day of the wedding, the date of which was fixed by the Sun family, a red bridal chair was carried in procession to the home of Lu Szu where a young man, on behalf of Tai-cheong, presented a letter for the bride, written on red paper edged with gold. This asked her in words of extravagant urgency to come to the bridegroom's home. At the threshold of the Suns' house, Tai-cheong met the chair and, when he had tapped on its little door with a fan, it was opened by the bridesmaids and Lu Szu got out. Her face was concealed by a red veil and it was not until the bride and bridegroom were in front of the Sun ancestral tablets that he caught a glimpse of her features. Not till later in the long ceremony did he see fully the face of the girl he had married. When Lu Szu prostrated herself before the ancestor tablets she was, in effect, joining the Sun family and undertaking well-understood duties, not only towards Tai-cheong but also to her mother-in-law. Tai-cheong, in marrying this unknown girl, not only hoped to raise children to carry on the family name but also gave his mother a daughter-in-law who must show explicit obedience to her least whim. The formalities of the wedding were not completed for several days and included a ceremonial visit to the bride's family and, on the fourth day, a feast given by bride and bridegroom to friends of both families.

If Sun Tai-cheong found this plunge back into the customs of his countrymen in any way irksome, he had the satisfaction of knowing that very soon he would be returning to school in Hongkong, leaving Lu Szu to her exacting duties in his mother's home.

Sun's missionary friend Hager was well pleased with his young convert. He says:

"After Sun Yat-sen became a Christian he immediately began to witness for Christ, and such was his earnestness that in a short time two of his friends

accepted Christianity. This was at a time when few converts were made and when many feared to identify themselves with Christians. But so great was the influence of Sun that he won these men to the truth. It was the same power that he has always had of making men accept his opinions."²⁴

Within a few months of Sun's marriage he undertook to accompany Hager and an English friend on a missionary journey to Choy-hung and Hager gives the following account of the expedition:

"We decided to sell a number of Gospels on the way, and in passing through the Portuguese colony of Macao we disposed of a great many Scriptures. Sun Yat-sen took us to a Chinese inn, where a bed and two meals cost us about thirty or forty cents a day. Of course we ate with Chinese chopsticks and slept on Chinese bed boards, just as did our friend. After a day or two we went to his home and for several days enjoyed his hospitality; and if I remember rightly we also saw his wife. I concluded that Sun Yat-sen belonged to one of the more well-to-do families. The house in which we lodged was of a superior type. This was probably due to the elder brother's prosperity in business in Honolulu."²⁵

It is impossible to exaggerate the degree of courage needed by Tai-cheong in thus bringing foreign missionaries to the village from which he had been banished, within a year of his memorable attack on Buck Tai.

For a little more than two years Tai-cheong continued his studies at Queen's College. A photograph of him at the age of eighteen shows a keen youth in the long cotton gown of a schoolboy, with his queue of black hair hanging from below a black skull cap. Nearly all his time was spent in the peaceful British colony of Hongkong in an atmosphere of progress and efficient administration. In the narrow waters between the majestic Peak of the island and the flat spit of Kowloon, with its hilly undeveloped hinterland, there were always ships of many nations guarded by grey warships of the British navy. Only for brief holidays he went home to Choy-hung and saw the wife he had married in filial-duty.

It is easy to trace in the adolescence of Sun influences tugging him in opposite directions: Iolani followed by the "wasted year"; the temple outrage followed by the traditional mourning for his father; the friendship of Hager and Christian baptism followed by a marriage of custom. In his reaction to these influences Sun showed a strong determination to continue his foreign studies; a missionary zeal to bring enlightenment to his countrymen, and, above all, a degree of moral courage that men rarely achieve until much later in life.

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PART THREE

"Can it be said that the arrow-smith is a less humane person than the armourer because the latter desires to save men from being hurt, while the former is anxious that they should be hurt? Or that the priest is kinder-hearted than the maker of coffins, because the latter would have men die? It is clear from these examples that the most careful thought is necessary in choosing a profession."—*Mencius*.

THE CHOICE OF A PROFESSION

DURING the year 1884 China became involved in a war with France which lasted until the middle of the following year. China, already suffering from the encroachment of the aggressive Western Powers, was "helpless before the high-minded French".²⁶ But the Chinese troops fought bravely and met with some early successes which encouraged ardent patriots to dream of ultimate victory. There was talk amongst the students of Hongkong of the vast man-power of China and of some slight modernisation in the Chinese army, as though these things would enable their country to defeat France.

From the many references to this war in Sun's later writings it is certain he was intensely interested at the time, and suppressed with some difficulty his ardent longing for victory because he knew victory was impossible. To the optimists who exulted in the small successes of the Chinese land forces he pointed unerringly to the fundamental weakness of China. He had seen enough of Western efficiency to know there could be only one end to the contest. "How can China defeat France when China does not even know where the land of France is?" he asked; and, pointing to the grey warships anchored off Hongkong, he observed that England was a small country, far away across the world, and yet had achieved great power because of her modern scientific knowledge. When the French fleet carried out a raid on Foochow, China was defeated ignominiously. Deeply stirred as Sun was, and resentful of the aggressive policy of France, he was realist enough to blame the Manchu government for their resistance to the reforms which, alone, might save China from disintegration. These reforms included the modernising of the army and, whatever justice there was in blaming the Manchus, the fundamental weakness of China in facing aggressive Westerners lay in China's ancient contempt of militarism and soldiering. The proverb says "No good iron will be made into a

naul, no good son will make a soldier". From this time Sun began to think politically.

Sun's mother was worried by the growing influence of foreigners with Tai-cheong and sent messages to that effect to Ah Mi. The lad's marriage with the good Lu Szu had been reassuring, but each time he came home from college he seemed more remote; less satisfied with village customs; and, what was truly alarming, more enthusiastic for the religion of the foreign-devils.

When, at last, Ah Mi heard his young brother had actually become a Christian he was very angry; and, by the next opportunity, sent a message saying that unless Tai-cheong gave up his Christianity he would no longer send any money home. Hager, who had the full confidence of his convert, wrote: "This dire threat had no effect upon our young, enthusiastic Christian, who did not cease promulgating his views on the Christian religion and the falsity of idols."

In the early part of 1886, Ah Mi, realising his threats made no difference, sent for Tai-cheong to go at once to Hawaii. He declared his young brother's signature was necessary in connection with some sale of property. It will be remembered that in Iolani days, Tai-cheong had been a junior partner in Ah Mi's store, and the story of a sale of this property may have been true. In any case Tai-cheong obeyed his brother at once, but without any expectation of profiting by the trip. In Hawaii, Ah Mi threatened Tai-cheong and absolutely refused to give him even sufficient money for his return to China.

The Christian denomination to which Tai-cheong belonged was the Congregational church, a denomination which is fully democratic in church government, every member having equal rights in the management of church affairs and accepting no higher ecclesiastical authority. It is not to be supposed Tai-cheong chose this particular denomination because of its democratic principles: he joined it because it was Hager's denomination. But it is possible he was influenced by its ideals. Now, when he found himself marooned, as it were, in Hawaii, Tai-cheong turned to the Congregationalists in those islands and received the generous help of the passage money necessary to bring him back to Hongkong. There was, however, no possibility of resuming his studies at Queen's College and he was faced with the problem of deciding on a career.

One result of the short visit to Hawaii was to impress on Tai-cheong the continued progress of the islands under Western influence. In the three and a half years since he left Iolani a good many new buildings had arisen and the place looked more prosper-

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ous than ever. There seemed no end to Western progress and, by contrast, no end to China's stagnation.

Tai-cheong's good friend Hager, as the following account shows, helped him with advice and a letter of introduction:

"Perhaps if there had been a satisfactory theological seminary at that time in Hongkong or in Canton, and someone to support him, Sun Yat-sen might have become the most famous preacher of his time, by the magnetic power of personal contact with men in winning them to Christ. After several months of inactivity he decided to take up the study of medicine, which has always been held in high esteem and next to the ministry by the Chinese. At his personal request I gave him a letter to the venerable Dr. J. G. Kerr, asking him if he would not remit a part of the medical fees, which were at that time about twenty dollars a year."

Dr. J. G. Kerr was a missionary who established a fine hospital in Canton and, in addition, trained young Chinese in Western medical science. For a year Tai-cheong worked under him, paying his way by doing routine work in the hospital.

Sun's choice of medicine as a profession is clearly of importance in any attempt to understand his character. It is generally supposed that in after life he made very little use of his medical knowledge, though one authority recalls that he treated with some success one of the sons of Judge Linebarger who suffered from an obscure stomach disorder and adds "he appears to have practised medicine intermittently throughout his life".²⁷ What is important, however, is not what use Sun made of his profession but the motives that led him to it.

One Chinese source asserts that Sun had already made up his mind to a career as a political revolutionist and deliberately chose medicine because there is a tradition in China that doctors do not meddle in politics.²⁸ There is no doubt that, by this time, Tai-cheong was interested in politics, as any healthy-minded young man should be, and that his ideas were revolutionary; but it is, surely, a mistake to think he underwent a six years' medical training solely as a camouflage!

Lyon Sharman in the "critical biography" writes: "Hager makes it clear that Sun Yat-sen had no field for choice"; but this is to misread Hager. If there was no choice what did the missionary mean by the phrase "which has always been held in high esteem and next to the ministry by the Chinese"? Again, Sharman writes: "One cannot say that in taking up medical studies he followed the path of least resistance; he followed the path that did not offer insuper-

able resistance." Is not this interpretation a little narrow—a little too critical?

According to Hager, when Tai-cheong got back to Hongkong from Hawaii "he had a strong conviction that he must become a preacher of the gospel". He was frustrated by lack of someone to support him financially and also by lack of a theological college in Hongkong or Canton—and Hager mentions this lack of a college *first*. Sharman's further comment, "Driven by his thirst for Western learning, which seems to have been unquenchable, he went into medical study—a field particularly alluring because of its large offering of scientific subjects", may have some truth in it; but if that were all, why the period of indecision and why the first preference for such an unscientific vocation as preaching? It is clear that Tai-cheong's missionary confidant credited him with higher motives than are allowed in the "critical biography", and if Hager had thought his young friend went in for medicine because he had no other choice his report of the matter would have been worded very differently. However critical we may be of the later life of Sun Yat-sen we are assuredly starting out on the wrong path if, at this early stage, we deny the young man the self-sacrificing idealism that is so common in youth.

Surely, it is nearer the truth to suppose that Tai-cheong wanted to help his fellowmen? Like many a young altruist he desired passionately to abolish suffering, but was uncertain as to the exact way to begin. The example and encouragement of the young missionary who baptized him suggested that China might be saved by preaching, but when that way was closed Sun considered others. As yet his political notions were nebulous and, besides, there is no education for politicians. China needed so much—modern medicine was an obvious choice. So, Sun Tai-cheong began his medical training, and it is significant that shortly afterwards the preacher, Charles R. Hager, went back to America to take a medical degree, returning when he was Doctor Hager, to resume his high calling in China as a medical missionary. Is it not probable that the same zeal for salvation by medical science which moved Hager to this action was communicated by him to his favourite convert?

Tai-cheong left Hongkong and for about a year lived in Canton. As has been said in a Chinese phrase, "Hongkong and Canton are as close to each other as lips are to teeth",²⁹ but this interdependence is comparatively recent. The name Hongkong means "Fragrant Streams", but the island was settled by the English and although

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the population is almost entirely Chinese it has been administered always as an English Crown Colony. The seaborne trade of China has been extensive for centuries but it is a coastwise trade of junks and the vast trade of Canton depended on ocean terminals in the hands of foreigners. For two hundred years the Portuguese colony of Macao handled this ocean trade but by the close of the nineteenth century Macao had been supplanted by Hongkong.

Canton means "the City of Rams", and it is said that a very long time ago five genii rode into the place mounted on rams, each of which carried in its mouth a sheaf of corn. "May famine and death never enter your markets!" cried the genii and, with this unsolicited blessing, vanished. The five rams, very sensibly, turned to stone and now reside in The Temple of the Five Genii. In comparison with many Chinese cities Canton has suffered little from famine; but death, in more violent forms, has often entered her markets. For more than three centuries this city was the only one in China which foreigners were allowed to visit for trading; and, although they were obliged to retreat to Macao for the winter months when no trade was done, the foreign influence may account, in part, for the enterprise and vigour of the Cantonese compared with the Chinese of the north and the Yangtze valley.

It is possible Tai-cheong visited Canton when he was a boy in Choyhung but, as far as we know, he saw it for the first time when he went, in 1886, with his letter of introduction to Dr. Kerr. Later the City of Rams was to hear much of Sun Yat-sen and to become closely associated with his name, so that its citizens, today, claim him as their particular hero.

Dr. Kerr had a number of young Chinese working and studying in his hospital, and there Tai-cheong renewed his friendship with Lu Hao-tung, his "doctrinal friend". Lu had gone from Choyhung to Shanghai and become acquainted with another young man, named Cheng Shih-liang. Cheng was the son of a wealthy merchant, who is said to have been despoiled by an unscrupulous mandarin and to have died as a result of his misfortune. Lu and Cheng then moved south and became students of Dr. Kerr.

The year Sun spent in Canton with his "doctrinal friend" and Cheng is of great importance, for the young men discussed politics, and Cheng's hatred of officialdom flamed the already smouldering discontent of Sun and Lu at the misrule of the Manchu régime. Students, everywhere, are apt to have drastic political views but in China, where the great respect for learning adds to the importance

of studenthood, it is common for students to play a more active part in current affairs than is usual in the occident. So the three young friends talked seriously of possible actions to reform the politics of China. The visions of youth may not be always very clear but, at least, they are not fogged by fears that the task is beyond their powers. Sun, Lu and Cheng knew little of the reform movement, then slowly dawning amongst a few enlightened scholars, but they seem to have realised that three medical students could not alone change the largest and most conservative empire in the world. They discussed the possibility of fanning the discontents of an organisation known as the Triad or The Heaven and Earth Society which already had revolutionary aims. This society was founded in the reign of Yung Cheng (A.D. 1723-1736) with the definite aim of overthrowing the Manchu dynasty. Members revealed their membership by pointing first up to heaven, then down to the ground and lastly to their own hearts, thus suggesting an harmonious union of God, earth and man. The society had an elaborate ritual some of which was borrowed by European Freemasons. Cheng Shih-liang was already a member.

These political talks led to no immediate action on the part of Tai-cheong, who was still bent on serving mankind as a doctor, but, as the proverb says, "The highest towers begin from the ground". In 1887 a chance of full medical training in Hongkong came his way and for a time he parted from his lively friends.

There was in Hongkong a wealthy Chinese, Dr. Ho Kai, who later received a British knighthood. After the death of his English wife, Sir Ho Kai built, as a memorial to her, a hospital for the London Missionary Society, which was named the Alice Memorial Hospital. In 1887 a medical college was opened in connection with the Alice Memorial hospital, supported in part by the Hongkong community. Physicians in Hongkong served as teachers. Sir Patrick Manson, who had a practice in Hongkong, helped in establishing the college but its most indefatigable supporter was Dr. Cantlie, afterwards Sir James Cantlie. Cantlie became very well known in England as the author of a St. John's Ambulance First-Aid handbook. At this time he was a vigorous man of thirty-six and it is said he was so full of energy that while other Europeans were carried up the hilly streets of Hongkong in chairs, or rode in rickshaws, Cantlie would "run alongside his chair at the coolies' jog-trot".

Students for the new medical college were selected carefully. At

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first there were only seven but a photograph, taken apparently a little later, shows thirteen and Cantlie writes of twenty-four. He says:

"Of some twenty-four men who presented themselves, I was most attracted by Sun . . . he at once arrested my attention by his gentleness of character, his earnestness in study, and by his behaviour as a gentleman in the college and in private life. He was the model and the example to the other members of the classes . . . he attracted by his personality both teachers and fellow-students."³⁰

It is uncertain how Sun managed to finance the beginning of this further Western education, but the London Missionary Society is very closely associated with the Congregational Churches of Great Britain and it was the American Congregational Church into which Sun had been baptized. His friend Hager may have helped. It is also possible that Ah Mi was now more favourable to his brother's ambitions. During the first session of the college Sun won the Watson scholarship. He was first in chemistry, minor surgery and clinical observation, and second in botany, physics and physiology. He may later have won other scholarships, and it is certain his teachers would have been most reluctant to lose such a promising student. Years afterwards Cantlie wrote, "Sun studied medicine as he has studied everything else, ardently". Of the students of his day Cantlie made an interesting observation:

"The Chinese are ready students, earnest in their endeavour, quick to understand, retentive of memory. It was perhaps the last-named feature that astonished one most. In Chinese schools everything is given over to training the memory. Knowledge, as we understand it, is quite a secondary factor. . . . Repetition, unceasing repetition, is the essence of school-life in China. The mind is stored with words and sound often wholly unintelligible to the scholar nor understood by the teacher. The effect of this constant repetition and memorising is to develop a retentiveness of memory to a degree unbelievable to those who have not come into contact with Oriental students. A good example of the surprising extent to which memory can be cultivated occurred at one of the professional examinations for the diploma of the College of Medicine. The questions were answered perfectly, but on comparing the papers it was found that the answers were identical. Paragraphs, sentences, full stops, and commas were so placed that it did not matter which of the papers was looked at. The wording was the same. The examiners, new to Chinese methods of instruction, insisted on another paper being set, as they believed the students had by some means copied from each other. A fresh paper of five questions was set, and a careful watch kept during the examination. Again the answers were correct and identical in every point, and it was only when the text-book recommended to the class was referred to that an explanation was forthcoming. They knew the large text-book of some five

hundred pages by heart, and could answer any question put them word for word from the book."³¹

The medical college was later incorporated in the University of Hongkong, but to begin with the small band of students did their main work in the Alice Memorial hospital and flitted between various other buildings for lectures. Even in the wards they worked in long cotton gowns, with wide-sleeved coats fitting closely round the neck in upright collars. They all wore queues and skull caps.

In addition to his ordinary practice and teaching work Dr. Cantlie undertook some research in connection with leprosy, which was then fairly common in parts of China. Mrs. Cantlie assisted him in this work and an entry in her diary, dated December 30th, 1890, mentions an expedition in which she and her husband took Sun as interpreter:

"Reached Canton at eight o'clock. Started at once to see the leper village. Were surprised at their happy looks in spite of the terrible disease. Gave them plenty of cigarettes and five dollars in money. Poor creatures, how pleased they were."³²

From other entries in Mrs. Cantlie's diary it seems likely that Sun, in his second and third year, went on other leper expeditions with the Cantlies. It was the beginning of a long and important friendship.

During vacations Sun returned to Choyhung, though it is unknown for what periods. On October 18th, 1891, his wife bore him a son who was later well known as Sun Fo. He had two other children, both girls, born a few years later. Although the birth of a son is such an important event in a Chinese home it does not carry quite the same implications in respect to parental responsibilities as in the occident. It was a family affair, and as long as the family were content for Tai-cheong to continue his studies in Hongkong he had no need to concern himself about the maintenance of his child.

Details of Sun's life during the five years he studied under Cantlie are meagre and, because there is little to say of the period, it is necessary to emphasise its great importance in the development of his character. When he graduated, the first scholar to do so, he was twenty-six years old and had won the respect of his English teachers. Dr. Cantlie celebrated the occasion with a dinner attended by fifty guests.

It was at this time that Sun changed his name to Yat-sen and gave up calling himself Tai-cheong. The characters represented by

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Yat and Sen are found in poetry. Yat means "unconventional" or "free" and Sen means a "spirit". The name, therefore, implied that Sun was free from the conventional Chinese medical ideas.

Although Sun Yat-sen had been parted from his Canton friends, Lu and Cheng, and, undoubtedly, applied his mind very seriously to his medical studies, he by no means forgot politics. There were other students in Hongkong who shared his dissatisfaction with the lot of the Chinese people and who considered the Manchu government was much to blame. In the British colony they were free to speak openly of the misery of their misruled countrymen and of the urgent need for political and social reforms. One of Sun's old Iolani school friends, visiting Hongkong, reported that Sun Yat-sen was reading political books and believed the system under which the Manchus exercised such arbitrary power was unsatisfactory if China was to take her rightful place in the world. Sun, himself, wrote much later of three student friends and their political discussions:

"We studied chiefly the history of revolutions. When it happened that we came together and did not talk of revolution, we did not feel happy. Thus a few years went by, and we received from our friends the nickname of 'the four great and inseparable scoundrels'. For me this was a period of revolutionary dispute and preparation."³³

Sun Yat-sen was certainly a leader in these political talks but, during his long training at the College of Medicine in Hongkong, he came under a non-political influence that was of far greater importance. That Sun studied "ardently" was a close bond between him and Dr. Cantlie, for ardour was a characteristic of the teacher. Cantlie's activities were so varied that "Cantlie's schemes" became a byword. He founded a lending library which grew into the Hongkong Public library, started a debating society, trained an ambulance corps, and even persuaded his students to play cricket. He declared that under his tuition Sun Yat-sen showed promise of becoming a good all-round cricketer! When Cantlie left Hongkong, after nine years' residence, an account of his work in *The Overland Daily Mail* referred to his independence of character, outspokenness, constant cheerfulness, kindness of heart and readiness to help anyone in need. Such was the man who, for five years, taught Sun Yat-sen and became his friend; such were the qualities of the teacher to whom Sun Yat-sen gave unqualified respect.

THE TURNING POINT

At the end of the nineteenth century the medical profession was obsessed with the importance of surgery. The triumphs of the operating theatre held a promise that the out-of-sorts human body could be chopped up and put together again in good working order—no other branch of medicine was so important. Bio-chemistry was unknown, it was "cut and cure" rather than "prevent". So Sun became a surgeon.

There has been a tendency in the West to belittle Chinese medical practice. According to a modern historian "the traditional Chinese medical lore compares favourably with that of the pre-nineteenth-century West".³⁴ And again, "The Chinese pharmacopoeia contained many useful drugs and their methods of treatment not infrequently produced excellent results". It is probable, though historical accuracy cannot be guaranteed, that the Chinese used anaesthetics as early as the Han dynasty (208 B.C.—A.D. 220) and inoculation against smallpox during the Sung dynasty (A.D. 960—A.D. 1279). Massage and cauterization have been common for many centuries. On the other hand knowledge of anatomy was imperfect and although some surgery was practised in very early times it does not seem to have been attempted extensively during the nineteenth century.

After the introduction of Western medicine many Chinese acknowledged the superiority of occidental surgery but preferred Chinese old-style physicians. As in European medical practice, until modern times, there was much superstition in Chinese medicine, the patient sometimes surviving by suggestion but often succumbing to quack treatment. Lin Yutang says:

"Some kinds of Chinese medicine are based on a mere play of words or on some fantastic association of thought. The toad who has a wrinkled skin is used in the cure of skin trouble, and a peculiar kind of frog that lives in cool, deep pools on hillsides is supposed to have a 'cooling' effect on the bodily system."³⁵

When Sun graduated in 1892 what China needed was not so much one more recruit to the small band of Western-trained surgeons as a national Health and Hygiene service. It was, in fact, by no means easy for a surgeon to find anywhere to practise. Outside the few missionary hospitals staffed with European and American

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doctors, there were hardly any hospitals and none equipped for surgical work.

There was in the Portuguese colony of Macao a large well-built hospital run by Chinese on old-fashioned methods. Macao was a sleepy place, full of gambling houses and lazy Portuguese settlers who spent their time gossiping under the shade of banyan trees or playing guitars within drinking dens. The place was not far from Choyhung where Sun's mother and wife lived and where the young doctor had many friends. It was natural he should seek an opening to practise there. He wrote:

"I found the Chinese authorities of the native hospital willing to help me forward in the matter of affording me opportunities to practise medicine and surgery. They placed a ward at my disposal, supplied me with drugs and appliances from London, and granted me every privilege whereby to secure my introduction amongst them on a fair footing. . . . never before had the Board of Directors of any Chinese hospital throughout the length and breadth of the great empire given any direct official encouragement to Western medicine. Many patients, more especially surgical cases, came to my ward and I had the opportunity of performing several of the major operations before the Directors. . . ."36

Dr. Cantlie gives an interesting account of Sun's work in the Macao hospital:

"I was so concerned in the welfare of my pupil that every Sunday I went by launch from Hongkong to Macao to superintend his various operations. Why did I go this journey to help this man? . . . because I loved and respected him. . . . Surgical work is not conducted in China with the privacy that attends similar work in Britain. At Sun's operations the lay committee of the hospital came and seated themselves near the operating-table, and the relatives and friends of the patient stood around watching the proceedings attentively. Especially did the manipulation in cutting for stone interest the onlookers. It was an operation that appealed to most men in that part of the country, for stone was not an uncommon ailment in the neighbourhood. The necessary incisions to reach the stone required a good deal of 'fanning' on the part of the onlookers to keep them from fainting—every man carries a fan in the south of China; but when the stone was produced their qualms were forgotten, and the rejoicings and 'Hi-yas' of astonishment showed they were amply rewarded for the trying ordeal they had gone through."37

Sun's career as a surgeon in Macao was cut short by the enforcement of a regulation which made it illegal for anyone to practise in the colony without a Portuguese medical qualification. He put the matter thus:

"It was not the obstructive ignorance of the East, but the jealousy of the West, which stepped in to thwart my progress. The law of Portugal forbids

the practice of medicine within Portuguese territory, by anyone who is not possessed of a Portuguese diploma, obtainable only in Europe. Under this rule the Portuguese doctors took refuge and fought my claims to practise."³⁸

Years later Sun said, rather quaintly, that he regarded medical science "as the kindly aunt who would bring me out on the high road of politics". In whatever way we understand this mature reflection it seems the kindly aunt gave her nephew a final push out on to the high road. The twenty-six years old surgeon, who had given five years of his adult life to diligent study and won the respect and admiration of his teachers, found his attempts to use this hard-won knowledge frustrated by the regulations of a Foreign Power.

There was at this time a Viceroy in the northern province of Chihli who was interested in Western progress and who had plans for a medical college in Tientsin. Sun sought his "doctrinal friend" Lu Hao-tung, who may have been still at Dr. Kerr's hospital in Canton, and together the two young men set off on the long trek to Chihli. The journey took many weeks, for it had to be made mostly on foot and, at times, in slow river boats. While they walked and talked the two young men were full of hopes. The enlightened Viceroy would no doubt welcome an English-trained surgeon and a former student of Dr. Kerr's, and would appoint them to positions of authority in the new Tientsin college; they would enlist his sympathy for the other reforms China needed so badly. Day by day, as they tramped from village to village, Sun and Lu had opportunities to observe the life of the people in other provinces than Kwangtung and to talk with them not only about their village life but sometimes about the government and the Manchus. The Chinese are anything but servile and there was an increasing murmur of discontent with the Manchu régime.

Sun prepared a memorial to the Viceroy. In this he may have had other help than the advice of Lu but the work was characteristic, and like many of his later projects went in a simple direct way to fundamentals, brushing aside all difficulties. It was the plan of one who sees clearly and says, "These are the things that are needed. It is right they should be done, so they must be done."

Briefly Sun saw four things necessary to national progress. (1) To make proper use of the good earth, (2) to develop such natural resources as minerals, (3) to assist the distribution of commodities and (4) to develop the talents of the people. Perhaps remembering his New Testament and the compassion of Christ for a hungry multi-

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tude, Sun put first emphasis on the need to increase the food supply of the habitually under-nourished population. Farming methods should be improved by scientific means, mineral resources located and developed, machinery introduced to increase industrial production, transport made quicker and cheaper by improved communications and, following the material progress, should come free education for all and vocational training.

No-one could quarrel with such an enlightened programme but in China at that time, and, indeed, in most other countries, the practical difficulties of turning the programme into reality were enormous. If the memorial ever reached the Viceroy he may well have smiled at its youthful optimism, but it seems more likely the carefully prepared document did not at that time get beyond Sun and his friends. Certain it is that Sun and Lu were never offered posts in the Tientsin college.

At first the reforming ideas of Sun received no more publicity than in talk between his young friends, but within a year of the abortive visit to Tientsin the memorial intended for the Viceroy was actually printed in a Chinese journal, read by the progressive educated classes.³⁹ This is the first indication that Sun's political ideas were reaching a wider audience and marks his orientation from medicine to politics.

Meanwhile Sun and Lu, disappointed with their rebuff in Tientsin, went on to Peking, then the capital of China, and returned south by way of the Yangtze valley. It has been suggested that Sun had some sort of medical practice in Canton or Amoy but, if this is true, it must have been very precarious and, after the trek to the north, Sun does not seem to have made any more attempts to practise surgery.

This was Sun's first journey in China outside his native province and he must have noticed the rather marked physical and psychological differences between the people of the north and those of Kwangtung. For the first time he met Chinese who were tall, placid and inscrutable. These men were not quick in wit nor easily stirred to resentment under oppression; they were intensely conservative and tenacious of old habits; their patience was endless and unbreakable. Sun found his Cantonese dialect unintelligible to the men of Peking and even in the villages of the Yangtze; sometimes he heard, and half understood, muttered jokes against his province, for the Cantonese were too virile and vivacious to be popular with the rest of China. It is, however, easy to make too much of the differences

between the southern Chinese and their countrymen, for such regional differences are common in most lands and are apt to be applied too widely as generic labels.

In 1894 war broke out between China and Japan over Korea. As in the earlier war against France, the Chinese soldiers put up a courageous resistance against the better equipped enemy but, largely on account of corruption in the Chinese administration, were quickly defeated on land and at sea. The humiliation was galling to Sun and his reforming friends and they decided the time had come when the Manchus might be overthrown by a revolution. To Western minds it seems almost absurd that a small group of unknown young men in south China could even dream of rebellion against the long-established Manchu dynasty, but it must be remembered the masses of people felt little loyalty towards the government and many were restive.

It is important to recognise that in all Sun's attempts at revolution the essence of his plans was to sow disaffection amongst the government soldiers; and by a *coup d'état*, rather than by open war, gain control of some vital centre like an arsenal or a governor's *yamén*, in the expectation that the people and the army would then come over to his side. He never contemplated raising anything like an army large enough to fight the armies of the government; it was to be a revolution, not a civil war. It may be added that a *yamén* was not only the official residence of a governor but also had within its bounds a court-house, a prison and, usually, stores of arms and ammunition.

Sun decided that any attempt to overthrow the Manchus would need money, and he realised his only chance of getting such support was from the large number of enlightened Chinese living overseas in countries like America and Hawaii. He went to Hongkong, *en route* for Hawaii, and there called on his old friend Charles Hager who had just returned to China as a qualified medical missionary. Dr. Hager writes:

"Not long after my return to China, in 1894, Sun Yat-sen called upon me with a former pastor of the London Mission. He seemed the same kind and respectful young man that he always was; what surprised me was the remark of the native pastor, who had just returned from a three years' sojourn in Germany as a teacher of Chinese in Berlin. 'How were you able,' he asked, to persuade such a man to become a Christian?' Today it seems clearer to me than ever before that even at that time Sun Yat-sen had already impressed himself upon the most progressive element of Chinese society, so that they were following him as their leader."⁴⁰

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The surgeon's knife was no longer to cut gall-stones from Chinese bodies; instead, the surgeon was determined to cut from the body of Chinese politics the gall-stone of Manchu misrule.

When Sun Yat-sen turned from medicine to revolutionary propaganda he again changed his name. He wrote the characters "yat" and "sen" quite differently, although the sounds are spelt by the same letters in English. The new character "yat" means "daily" and the new character "sen" means "renovation". One of the early rulers of China had an inscription on his bath-tub, "If on one day there may be a renovation, then every day there may be, indeed daily there must be, renovation". It is to be supposed the words had a deeper purpose than the encouragement of ablutions and Sun Yat-sen may have thought of his new name as suggesting the "daily renovation" of his spiritual life. It is also possible he meant that the day for the renovation of China had come. From this time onwards these new characters were used, though, of course, the name remains Sun Yat-sen in its English form.

About the same time Sun used yet another name. He signed his petition to the Viceroy of Chihli, Sun Wen. In mandarin "wen" means "literary", so that the name may be taken as Sun the scholar—using the word scholar in its broad sense. It is by this name that Sun is commonly known throughout China. He signed official documents, including his will, Sun Wen. In western countries, where changes of name are unusual, the earlier name, Sun Yat-sen, has stuck.

SECRET SOCIETIES

The mandarin derives his power from the law,
the people from the secret societies.

—Chinese proverb.

There are few nations who make such a success of community life as do the Chinese. The intricate pattern of family, or clan, life and the co-operation within the village group are obvious; trade guilds and the very elaborate Money Loan Associations are interesting examples, but the so-called "Secret Societies" have been always a source of wonder to the occident.

A rough guess at the numbers of Chinese members of some sort of secret society in the year 1894 puts the total between two and three million persons. Some of the societies were political, some religious and some, like the Triad, of which Sun's friend Cheng

Shih-liang was a member, a mixture of political and religious. There were a few of a more personal nature, such as a women's Anti-Marriage society, the members of which were called Golden Orchids.⁴¹

Chinese who settled abroad took their enthusiasm for secret societies with them, often to the alarm of the foreigners in whose lands they settled. In 1887 Hongkong government declared the local branch of the Triads illegal: three years later the government of the Straits Settlements made the Singapore and Penang societies close down the Triad branches "as well as other dangerous societies" and burn their diplomas in the presence of two English officials.

This frowning of governments on the activities of secret societies must have been known to Sun, who was in Hongkong in 1887, but it is doubtful if he, or any other Chinese, took much notice of such spectacular but inefficient methods of suppression.

Nothing was more natural than for Sun to use the secret society technique in his attempt to raise funds with which to resist the Manchus. And where better could he begin than in Hawaii with its many successful Cantonese emigrants?

Arriving towards the end of 1894, Sun formed his first society, the *Hsing Chung Hui*, translated sometimes as The Progressive Chinese Society, meaning a society of those who wanted China to become prosperous through progress. There was little need for it to be secret, for, as yet, its founder was unknown to the Manchu government, its aims were exemplary and, although it aspired to spread from foreign countries to China, it was at present in independent Hawaii. All the same The Progressive Chinese Society was run on secret society lines. Members took an oath swearing allegiance to the society and its aims. They signed a register and subscribed for shares of ten dollars, which might or might not be redeemed some day.

The aim of the society was, "To associate progressive Chinese—in China and abroad—in an organisation whose purpose shall be to make a study of wealth and power in order to promote and prosper China". This aim was skilfully worded to appeal to the patriotism of those Chinese abroad who had experienced the prosperity of other lands and who, from their own savings, made remittances home to help their struggling families. Nothing could be more benevolent. The preamble, translated from the Chinese text by Lyon Sharman, begins with a clear statement of the position of China followed by a warm appeal to "good and intelligent men" to save the country:

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"Affairs in China are going wrong. The old loyalties and virtues are corrupted every day. Our strong neighbours look down upon us and despise us for the reason that we are not one at heart. Our people are striving for selfish and immediate ends, and are neglectful of the situation in the large. They do not realise that when China is one day dismembered by other people, their sons and grandsons will be enslaved and their families will go unprotected. There can be no urgency more urgent than this. Selfishness was never more selfish. The whole nation is confused. Nobody understands. There is nobody to save the situation. How then is calamity to be averted? If we do not make an effort to hold our own, if we do not rouse ourselves in time, our thousands of years of fame and culture, our many generations of traditions and morals will be destroyed, utterly ruined. Who must be responsible in this situation? Who else but the good and intelligent men who know what the situation is?"⁴²

It is not always realised in the West how the partition of Africa by the European Powers during the later part of the nineteenth century alarmed the Far East. Japan, newly opened up after her long isolation; and China, shaken in her complacency, watched the patchy painting of the map of Africa in European colours with well-founded fears that the painters would not be long in coming their way.

Sun had good reason to warn his countrymen of a China "one day dismembered by other people". Four years later Lord Salisbury, speaking of China and Turkey as "dying" Powers, said:

"It is not to be supposed that any one nation of the living nations will be allowed to have the profitable monopoly of curing or cutting up these unfortunate patients, and the controversy is as to who shall have the privilege of doing so, and in what measure he shall do it. . . . Undoubtedly we shall not allow England to be at a disadvantage in any rearrangement that may take place."⁴³

A book by Lord Charles Beresford that was very popular at the end of the nineteenth century had the ominous title *The Break-up of China*.

It is interesting to note Sun's references to the old virtues, traditions and culture of China and to his emphasis of the moral issue—the prevalence of political corruption and selfishness. Fifty years later much the same diagnosis might be applied to a whole world exhausted by wars.

The plans of The Progressive Chinese Society were on the same lines as the scheme propounded in the memorial intended for the Viceroy of Chihli, which had recently appeared in the Shanghai journal. The livelihood of the people was to be improved by better farming and industrial development and their education cared for

by reformed schools and instructive newspapers. Sun was the first member to take the oath, swearing with one hand on an open Bible, the other raised above his head. His followers were few in numbers and young in age. In his *Memoirs* Sun recalls, "only ten sympathisers, of whom only two brothers agreed to make considerable sacrifices for our common cause".

Some of the rich Chinese in Hawaii agreed to give financial support and, if Sun was disappointed by the small membership of his party, he must have been very gratified to number his own brother, Ah Mi, amongst those who gave money.

We do not know how it came about that Ah Mi was now not only reconciled with his brother but willing to appear as one of his supporters; we do know that from this time onwards Ah Mi did much to help. At first it may have been only a gesture of support for one of the family, or he may have been persuaded by his brother's eloquence, or, with the passing of time, Ah Mi may have realised the truth that some drastic change was needed to save China.

While Sun was forming The Progressive Chinese Society the war with Japan went from bad to worse. Sun made plans to visit America to establish branches of the society in any place where he could find upwards of fifteen Chinese enthusiasts to support it, but before he left Honolulu a message of importance reached him from Shanghai. It urged him to return at once to China to start the revolution, since there was so much disgust over the war that it was supposed any sign of revolt would bring support from the people. The message is of historic importance because it came from Charles Jones Soong.

It is uncertain when Sun first met Soong, but the support and friendship of this remarkable man were to mean much to Sun and to the history of China. Soong was five years older than Sun but in many ways their early experiences were alike. Soong came from south China and his family, like other enterprising southern Chinese, sent pioneers to the United States of America to establish shops and businesses. Soong, while still a small boy, was sent to Boston, there to work under an uncle in one of the many establishments of the family.

By the time he was twelve or thirteen, the lad had a passionate desire to go to school and learn as American boys are taught. He asked permission of his uncle but received no encouragement because his place in the family plan was mapped out already—he would go on picking up experience in the shop, working in the

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evening at bookkeeping and such practical subjects, gain knowledge of commodities and their values and learn to appraise customers; in time he might be moved to another of the family shops and while still young (in the Chinese sense) might go back to China for a spell, visiting the rest of the family and his ageing parents; always he would work diligently and tirelessly building for the family until, at last, with old age upon him, he might relax and enjoy the fruits of his honest labours while sons and grandsons, nephews and great-nephews followed his blameless example. What more could an American education do? How fortunate it is that of all planners, parents are the least successful! The dreams of the Soong family were honest and sensible. If some necromancer had foretold, for the little Soong boy, daughters who would become the three most famous Chinese women of their age, the Soong family would have laughed, for even their Chinese credulity in the matter of fortune-telling would have been overstrained.

So, little Soong, denied schooling, ran away from his uncle's shop. The hero of an English or American romance runs away from home in his youth just to show his high spirits, but Soong's act was as unfilial as the obstinacy of Sun Tai-cheong in wanting to be baptized. It meant a tremendous break with national custom and loss of the economic support of the family.

Soong went to sea as a cabin boy and luckily fell in with a high-principled and imaginative skipper. Captain Charles Jones, as he was named, talked to his cabin boy about Christianity and, later, interested an American Methodist Church in the lad. Soong was baptized as Charles Jones Soong, it being common for Chinese to honour a teacher or benefactor by adopting his name or names. For some years Soong studied in America, intending to become a Christian missionary to his native China. About the time that Sun was winning his prize for English at Iolani, Soong was starting his three years, theology course at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee. When Sun enrolled at the Hongkong College of Medicine, Soong had just returned to China from U.S.A.

It is not altogether surprising that Soong was disappointed over his missionary endeavours: at that time the missionary zeal in Tennessee was more remarkable for its enthusiasm than for its enlightenment, and the kind of narrow training with which Soong was equipped probably made him feel ineffective when he got back amongst his own people. For a time he taught in a mission school, one of his pupils being the great educationist Dr. Hu Shih. Soong

remained always an ardent, regular church-going Methodist and he married a Chinese Christian with strong evangelical ideas; but although he was trained in America as a preacher he did not remain a preacher in China. Instead he became a business man in the rapidly growing city of Shanghai, where he and his wife were greatly respected.

Sun and Soong were both southern Chinese with occidental education; both had, at an early age, broken with tradition and been "unfilial"; both were Christians and both had hoped to serve their countrymen—Sun by surgery, Soong by preaching. The plans of both had gone awry and now both were convinced that only by revolution could China be saved.

Charles Jones Soong was greatly attracted by Sun. As the author of *The Soong Sisters* puts it, "Bereft of the first hope of his life, to help China to redemption by means of the gospel, he must have welcomed the political ideas of the future revolutionist".⁴⁴ Soong was amongst the first of Sun's supporters and having been sworn to the cause remained steadfast all through the vicissitudes of Sun's career.

Now, Soong urged Sun to act in China. The victorious Japanese, by the Treaty of Shimonoseki, took from China the whole of Formosa and forced the Chinese from Korea, leaving that state ripe for later annexation by Japan. Nothing could be more humiliating, but the lessons to be learned from the humiliation were obvious. "The Shrimp People", as centuries ago the Chinese had named the Japanese, had actually defeated the great empire of China; firstly, because "inefficiency and corruption were rampant throughout the Chinese forces"⁴⁵ and, secondly, because the Japanese had copied the ways of the western nations. China must clear out the corrupt Manchu government, putting an efficient and honest government in its place, and China must copy the ways of the western nations.

Sun, with a few of his "sworn brothers" from Hawaii, returned to China. Ill-disciplined soldiers discharged from the war against Japan roamed about the country plundering and fomenting unrest. There were sporadic outbursts by exasperated villagers demanding government protection from the marauders.

Sun was about to commit an act of open revolt and it is important to realise that before taking this drastic step he worked hard for peaceful reform. An English newspaper, published in Hongkong, wrote:

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"Dr. Sun worked hard and loyally to fuse the inchoate elements of disaffection brought into existence by Manchu misgovernment, and to give the whole reform movement a purely constitutional form, in the earnest hope of raising his wretched country out of the Slough of Despond in which it was and is sinking deeper daily."

In reference to Sun's reform memorial to the Governor of Chihli the same paper said, "it had as much effect as a volume of sermons thrown among a shoal of sharks".⁴⁶

For a Chinese to turn against the Son of Heaven was, indeed, drastic but, in spite of the elaborate ceremony and almost sacred atmosphere which surrounded the Dragon Throne, the Chinese believed, from very early times, that the person of the Emperor was not sacrosanct. There are three sayings of Mencius which Sun Yat-sen quoted in justification of his revolt: "The most important element (in a nation) is the people; the spirits of the land and grain come next; the sovereign is the least",⁴⁷ and "Heaven sees through the people's eyes; Heaven hears through the people's ears".⁴⁸ The third saying relates to the Emperor Chou, the last of the Shang dynasty (1766 B.C.-1122 B.C.) who was notorious for cruelty and lust. He was slain by a vassal and Mencius was asked if this act of regicide was right morally. He replied, "I have heard it said that the fellow Chou has been murdered, but I never heard it said that the monarch had been killed".⁴⁹

The revolutionists made plans for a rising which might have sufficient success to unite the malcontents. Their first objective was the *yamên* of the provincial government of Canton. This might be captured by a few determined men. Success would give them arms and probably win over what soldiers the government had in the province. With Canton in their hands the revolutionists could reasonably hope other provinces would join them till the revolt spread northwards threatening Peking itself.

The plotters started an organisation in Canton called *The Scientific Agricultural Association*. Some of them were known already as enthusiasts for scientific innovations and this Association enabled them to work without arousing undue suspicion. A sub-office was opened in Hongkong, as a shop, and from there they set about the difficult task of getting arms, ammunition and recruits. Money was raised by every member giving what he could. Lu Hao-tung, Sun's "doctrinal friend", sold some land he owned and his wife's jewels, giving all the proceeds to the cause. The revolutionists bought a few rifles, six hundred pistols, dynamite and even some scissors with

"Last year's attempt was not likely to succeed, but it was likely to bring success a stage nearer, and in that sense it was well worth the effort of an ardent patriot. Dr. Sun was the only man who combined a complete grasp of the situation with a reckless bravery of the kind which alone can make a national regeneration."⁵⁰

Sun's escape from China was no easy matter. He afterwards spoke as though he could not have succeeded without Dr. Cantlie's help in Hongkong and, on arrival in Japan, he took drastic action:

"At Kobe, whither I fled from Hong Kong, I took a step of great importance. I cut off my cue, which had been growing all my life. For some days I had not shaved my head, and I allowed the hair to grow on my upper lip. Then I went out to a clothier's and bought a suit of modern Japanese garments. When I was fully dressed I looked in the mirror and was astonished—and a good deal reassured—by the transformation. Nature had favoured me. I was darker in complexion than most Chinese, a trait I had inherited from my mother, for my father resembled more the regular type. I have seen it said that I have Malay blood in my veins, and also that I was born in Honolulu. Both these statements are false. I am purely Chinese, as far as I know; but after the Japanese war, when the natives of Japan began to be treated with more respect, I had no trouble, when I let my hair and moustache grow, in passing for a Japanese. I admit I owe a great deal to this circumstance, as otherwise I should not have escaped from many dangerous situations. Japanese themselves always have taken me for one of their countrymen."⁵¹

The scissors taken to Canton to cut the queues of the revolutionists after their anticipated success were not needed for another sixteen years, but when the fugitive leader cut off his own queue he did more than disguise himself—he strengthened his resolve to defy the Manchu dynasty. With the queue Sun discarded the long robe of a Chinese student and took to western dress, not only because it was commonly used by Japanese but perhaps also with some defiant feeling that in his fight against the Manchus he must adopt whole-heartedly western ways.

In Japan Sun was still liable to extradition, so after a very short stay he crossed to Hawaii and rejoined his family. Ah Mi was more prosperous than ever and owned a considerable estate on the island of Maui where he raised cattle. Apparently the family did not altogether appreciate Sun's revolutionary activities and it is recorded that his old mother reproached him saying, "Oh, Tai-cheong! Why did you bring this trouble on your family? Why did you not live peaceably in Choyhung instead of making all this disturbance?"⁵²

It was a considerable distance from Ah Mi's new home to Honolulu, involving a sea passage of about ninety miles, but Sun spent

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some time in the city reorganising The Progressive Chinese Society. New members were obtained and, according to some surviving members, it was necessary to find another place of meeting to accommodate the larger numbers. There were about one hundred who met together for drill, believing that some day there would be fighting to do. The records of these activities were lost by fire but it is thought that Sun collected a considerable sum of money for the cause. Other sources say he was disappointed at the response of his countrymen in Honolulu.

It will be remembered that Sun had planned a visit to the United States of America a year before and cancelled it only on receiving the urgent advice of Charles Jones Soong. Now, as the attempted revolt had failed, Sun reverted to his former plan of seeking support in money and sympathy from Chinese in America. He was about to leave for San Francisco when he had the good luck to see his old Hongkong friends, the Cantlies, driving down a street in Honolulu. Dr. Cantlie has described this chance reunion:

"The vehicle in which I was driving through the streets with my wife, and a Japanese nurse in charge of my son, was stopped by an apparent Japanese, looking very trim in European dress and with a moustache of respectable dimensions, who proffered his hand, raised his hat, and smiled affably. We all regarded him with astonishment; the Japanese nurse addressed him in Japanese, but he shook his head in response, and it was some time before we recognised it was Sun, minus his cue and Chinese dress. A cordial greeting ensued, and a visit to London was arranged."⁵³

The "visit to London" indicates that Sun had thought already of a European visit, but it was probably not much more than a vague intention and Sun's promise to see his English friends in London expressed a polite hope rather than any fixed plan.

In June 1896 Sun went to San Francisco. It was the first occidental city he had seen and must have influenced him profoundly. He spent three months travelling across America to New York, stopping in many places where Chinese lived. Everywhere he preached to his countrymen the need to overthrow the Manchus if China was to be saved, and the necessity for a complete reconstruction. As America had freed herself from the rule of England by a revolution, called the War of Independence, so China must become free; and as a republic gave Americans security of life and property, so a republic must be created in China. Always he spoke first of the shameful conditions within China, the misrule and corruption, the poverty and extortion.

On the whole Sun was disappointed with the response to his appeals. He found the Chinese in America even more conservative than those in Honolulu; and, although he did not spare himself in his far-spread crusade, he found few cities where he could win more than the fifteen originally intended as a minimum membership for branches of The Progressive Chinese Society.

While in San Francisco Sun had his photograph taken. The stupendous invention of photography had reached a stage in its commercial development when, for a small sum, anyone could obtain a convincing likeness of himself, standing with one arm on a rosewood table or seated before a screen on which was painted a waterfall, snow mountain, or breaking wave. Family albums of this period show what a large number of photographers, with gold-leaf names in fancy script, were needed to meet Man's insatiable desire to see this novel view of himself on a glazed postcard. That Sun Yat-sen should have done what everyone else was doing is only remarkable as an instance of how a common habit can betray one. The Manchu government in Peking still had an eye on Sun, and its minister in Washington was glad to get a print of the San Francisco photograph. From it he circulated a description of the "wanted" man; who had a short moustache but no queue, whose hair was parted at one side and brushed back neatly and who wore very correct western clothes.

A SPIRITUAL CRISIS

What afterwards became known as the "kidnapping" of Sun Yat-sen in London was an incident none the less important because it was sensational. Conflicting versions of the story appear in print, some with dramatic embellishments that are obviously incorrect, but the main facts are clear and significant because of their influence on Sun and for the effect they had in making him and his cause known to the world.

The chief actors in this very real drama were Sun himself, his old friend and teacher Dr. Cantlie, and Sir Halliday Macartney. Macartney served as a young doctor with the British troops used by the Manchu Emperor against Taiping rebels and, later, resigned his British commission and entered the Chinese service. After fourteen years' work for the Manchu government in China, Macartney was appointed Secretary to the newly established Chinese

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Legation in London. At that time there were comparatively few Englishmen who could speak Chinese, which, perhaps, accounts for the curious fact that Macartney received this important appointment although holding, in private, a very low opinion of the government he was to serve. Nine months before returning to England to occupy the Secretary's desk at the Legation he wrote to a friend:

"Until China is prepared to accept the European system in its entirety, and follow the example of Japan in making a radical and complete change in her military system, nothing but disappointment can result from the attempts of her leaders to reform it. Her own disjointed and effete organisation must be altogether overthrown, as any attempt to improve it by combining such unharmonious elements as those of Europe and China will be nothing short of an attempt to weld iron and clay."⁵⁴

Five months later there was talk of war between England and China and Macartney wrote to another friend:

"The force we now have in China is sufficient to occupy Nankin, and so command the Yangtze that the country would be divided into two parts. This done, a blow would be struck at China which would be second only to the occupation of Peking. The prestige which the occupation of Nankin would bring us would be invaluable; and in the present state of the country how could you better paralyse the Government than by dividing the North from the South?

"But, say you, it would upset the Government and overturn the dynasty. Well, if it did, we ought none the less to do it. I hold it to be altogether a mistake for us to allow considerations of the rottenness of the dynasty to influence our policy. You will not save the dynasty by your forbearance, for a thing so effete only exists by sufferance, and can never be resuscitated."

"There is a danger also in allowing China to think that her rottenness is her strength, lest she defy you and presume, like a woman or a priest, to brave you in the protection of their petticoats. But is it certain that China must go to the wall? Would it not be possible for her to discard her traditions and accommodate herself to the conditions of the times and live? I doubt it. History does not give us a single instance of a people who had ever *declined* from a high position among the nations of the world and again resumed their place among them. The very greatness of their traditions being hostile to the grafting on of a new civilisation prevents this. The old ideas prevent the ingress of the new, stand as insulators, breaking the circuit and preventing the pulses of the world from being felt."⁵⁵

So, after fourteen years of service with the Manchu government Macartney's view of "the rottenness of the dynasty" exactly agreed with that of Sun Yat-sen, though the two men had a different faith in the future of China.

The threatened war was averted by China's concessions and Macartney became the English adviser of the Manchu government in London. That was in 1876, just before Sun went to Iolani. Twenty years later Macartney was still at his desk in the Embassy at 49 Portland Place and it must be agreed his position was a difficult one. In his own words, he endeavoured "to make China to conform to the usages of civilised nations, and to get England to treat her with the consideration which she would accord to any other great nation".

In 1896 the Manchu government of Peking warned their minister in Washington that Sun was "wanted" as a rebel and was known to be travelling in America. This zealous Washington official not only watched Sun's movements in the United States but told Macartney the date of his sailing for England. Application was made to the British government for Sun's extradition, but was refused because there was no extradition treaty with China at that time.

Sun sailed from New York to Liverpool in the S.S. *Majestic*, travelling under an assumed name. He arrived in Liverpool on September 30th and went straight to London, putting up at Haxell's Hotel in the Strand. Next day he visited the Cantlies, who made him very welcome. With their help Sun found lodgings at 8 Gray's Inn Place, Holborn, but he spent most of his time at the Cantlies' home, 46 Devonshire Street.

One day at lunch Dr. Cantlie pointed out that the Chinese Legation was just round the corner from Devonshire Street and suggested, jokingly, that Sun might pay them a visit. Mrs. Cantlie remarked, "You had better not—don't you go near it. They'll catch you and ship you off to China." They all laughed over this joke, little realising that Mrs. Cantlie's intuition was sound. Sun was caught by the Legation and only escaped shipment to China after a harassing ordeal. Exactly how he got into the sacrosanct quarters of the Legation will never be known, for there are two conflicting records each supported by evidence of equal probability.

Sir Halliday Macartney states that Sun called at the Legation on Saturday, October 10th, enquiring if there were any member of the staff from Canton. One of the junior clerks was a Cantonese, but, as this man was busy, it was arranged Sun should call again next day when the clerk would have more leisure. There were only a few Chinese in England and after Sun's departure the description of the "wanted" criminal was examined carefully and it was concluded the visitor was the very man Peking sought. Next morning when Sun called he was arrested. In view of Mrs. Cantlie's warning

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this official version seems unconvincing but it must be remembered Sun was, at all times, bold and that he had no reason to suppose anyone but the Cantlies knew of his presence in England. It may be he hoped to spread disaffection in the Legation staff.

The alternative version runs thus: On Sunday, October 11th, Sun was invited by the Cantlies to go with them to church at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields and was on his way to 46 Devonshire Street when he was accosted by a strange Chinese who said in English:

"Are you Japanese?"

"I am a Chinese," replied Sun.

"From what part of China?"

"From near Canton."

On hearing this the stranger was apparently overcome with joy. "We are compatriots!" he cried. "The other Chinese in London do not speak Cantonese and I have to speak to them in English."

Although the written language of China is the same all over the country there are considerable areas where dialects are spoken and a man from such a district might not be able to understand the speech of another. There was, therefore, nothing unusual or suspicious in what this stranger said and Sun must have been glad to meet in this foreign land someone who could speak the language of Choyhung. Just then another Chinese appeared. He knew the first and the two urged Sun to go with them to their lodgings for a smoke and chat. Sun feared no trap but hesitated because he knew the Cantlies were waiting to take him to church. Even now the Sunday morning stillness of the West End was broken by the bells of many churches.

The Legation premises, with their main entrance in Portland Place, have back quarters extending down Weymouth Street with a side door opening on to that road. Sun's new acquaintances were insistent. The Cantonese took his arm and playfully led him along Weymouth Street, saying it was but a step to the lodgings. They stopped outside a door and then, with the help of a sudden and apparently playful push, Sun found himself inside. A door slammed behind him and was at once bolted. Immediately Sun realised this must be the side entrance of the Legation and that he had been "kidnapped" by the Manchu Government.

When there are two conflicting versions of an important event it is usual for a biographer to examine each in detail and give the reader the more probable but, in this instance, it is instructive to

record both. The vital point is that Sun was arrested ("detained" is the word used by Macartney) and kept a prisoner in the Legation. After his release he authorised the "kidnapping" version, which certainly tallies with Dr. Cantlie's record; but Sun always kept uppermost in his mind his main purpose, the regeneration of China, and made his flair for propaganda serve that purpose. The whole affair brought the matter of Manchu "rotteness" before the British public and Sun would have felt quite justified in colouring the picture to make it attractive to the widest possible audience. Moreover, it was his general policy to undermine the allegiance of Manchu officials and if, in fact, he went of his own accord to the Legation with that intention he may have allowed the "kidnapping" version to cloak his tactics.

On the other hand the improbability of the Legation's version is somewhat increased by an indignant letter from Sir Halliday Macartney to *The Times*, written on the day following Sun's release. Macartney had been criticised for "having anything to do" with the matter, though as a servant of the Manchu government he was only doing their bidding; and his letter denies the act of "kidnapping". It is, however, hardly frank on the main issue. The really important point of the criticism of Macartney was not how Sun got *into* the Legation but how he got *out*. The letter is also unfortunate in an attempt to blacken the victim by suggesting that he falsely used the name Sun Yat-sen when his real name was Sun Wen. Macartney, of course, knew that Chinese commonly have several names, but readers of *The Times* would not know this and Macartney used their ignorance to prejudice judgment in his favour. Sun retorted, rather neatly, that in China Macartney was known under three names: Ma Ta-yen, Ma Ka-ni and Ma Tsing-shan.

Many of the conflicting versions of incidents in the life of Sun Yat-sen can be resolved with a little care and although this famous controversy of the "kidnapping" remains somewhat of a mystery it need not concern us overmuch. The undisputed fact is that Sun was detained against his will in the Legation from Sunday, October 11th, until Friday, October 23rd, 1896. During that time he underwent an inner spiritual crisis, while outside his friends and foes acted a remarkable drama that brought on the stage a melodramatic collection of characters including an Inspector of Scotland Yard, a judge of the Old Bailey, a detective in a hansom cab and Lord Salisbury.

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known conditions but it does not become really instructive until we use imagination to picture what might have happened—in other words, until we look at history from the opposite point of view to that of the historian. It is his task to select and unravel facts, handing them to the reader as a neatly wound ball of soft wool or coarse string, according to taste. The wise reader reverses the process, unwinding the ball and imagining how differently it might have been done up.

The first interview of Sun Yat-sen and Sir Halliday Macartney was a dull piece of history, though fraught with desperate anxiety for the prisoner, because at that time neither knew anything much about the other. Sun saw Macartney as a strange Englishman somehow employed by the Manchus and Macartney knew nothing of Sun except that he was “wanted” by Peking for taking part in some serious, but not widespread, trouble in Canton.

How different the interview would have been if Sun had known of the private letters Macartney wrote twenty years before about the Manchu government—“nothing but disappointment can result from the attempt of her leaders to reform it”. “Her own disjointed and effete organisation must be altogether overthrown.” “I hold it to be altogether a mistake for us to allow considerations of the rottenness of the dynasty to influence our policy.” Why! Sun would have grasped Macartney’s hand and claimed him as an ally. And if Macartney could have looked ahead twenty years and seen China, with a republican form of government established largely by the ceaseless efforts of Sun (the first provisional President of China), struggling to “accommodate herself to the conditions of the times”—Well, *there* is an interview to imagine!

As it was, the meeting passed off quietly, Macartney merely telling Sun he had been detained on instructions from Peking and Sun challenging formally, but without hope, the Legation’s right to such high-handed action in the land of a friendly foreign Power.

The Legation building is a large corner house in a block. Its top storey, designed for servants’ quarters, has a rectangular space in the middle, built over the floor above, and the windows of the bedrooms open on to the middle space which is thus a kind of enclosed roof court-yard. A door from one of the passages gives access to this flat roof where there is a water-tap and drain, used by charwomen. It would be easy to scramble from this roof court-yard over the surrounding higher roofs and so pass from the Legation to the roofs of other houses in the same block. Sun was confined

in one of these servants' bedrooms. All the windows opening on to the roof court-yard are heavily barred, presumably against possible burglars who might gain access from neighbouring roofs. Sun tried to pass messages, addressed to Dr. Cantlie, by putting them through the window together with a money bribe, in the hope that some of the Legation servants, who used the roof water-tap, would be tempted to convey them to his friend. It was a forlorn hope, because the servants handed the messages to their employer at the Legation. Sun then attempted to throw messages, weighted with two-shilling pieces, over the surrounding roof in the hope they might fall into a street, but the distance was too great. It would, indeed, be hard to imagine a better place to confine a prisoner, for he might have the window wide open without seeing anything but the court-yard and there was no possible means of attracting outside attention.

In the first hours of imprisonment Sun thought often of Mrs. Cantlie's words, "They will catch you and ship you off to China"; he thought, also, of his "doctrinal friend" and the other comrades captured at Canton and summarily beheaded. The Legation would hardly dare to carry out an execution on the premises, but very soon Sun was informed of Macartney's plan.

The only way to carry out an illegal extradition was to charter a ship specially to take Sun to China and this seemed an expensive procedure for such a commonplace offender. So Macartney cabled Peking to authorise the chartering of a vessel in which Sun might be shipped as a lunatic.

While Macartney waited for a reply to this cable Sun came near to despair. Often during his adventurous life he risked death, both in actual attempts at rebellion and as a result of the big price put on his head by the Manchus, but he was never a coward and never shirked taking personal risks for his cause. He knew well enough what would happen once the Manchus had him on Chinese soil. It was not likely he, the leader, would be beheaded. He described the death he anticipated:

"First having my ankles crushed in a vice and broken by a hammer, my eyelids cut off, and finally being chopped to small fragments, so that none could claim my mortal remains. For the old Chinese code does not err on the side of mercy to political offenders."⁵⁶

But now, during the days and nights of his confinement, he underwent a searching test:

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"While in prison I thought I should surely meet death and that I could never hope to live again. It is but natural for a person to beseech Heaven in time of need as it is to call one's parents when suffering from pain or trouble. In those days of suffering I only beat my heart and repented and earnestly prayed. For six or seven days I prayed incessantly day and night. The more I prayed the more earnest I was in my prayer. On the seventh day I felt suddenly comforted. I was absolutely without fear. The state of being comforted and feeling brave came to me unconsciously. This was the result of prayer. How fortunate I was to have received the Grace of God."⁵⁷

Sun told Dr. Cantlie he would never forget the feeling that took possession of him as he rose from his knees on the morning of Friday, October 16th, "a feeling of calmness, hopefulness and confidence".

Prayer is answered, usually, through action, so Sun renewed his apparently futile attempts to influence the men who guarded him. One of these was an Englishman named Cole. About that time there was great indignation in England over the Sultan of Turkey's treatment of Armenian Christians and Sun told Cole the Manchu Emperor intended to kill him because he was one of a party striving to secure good government in China. He was being persecuted like the Armenians. If he had been guilty of any ordinary crime the Legation would not confine him without the knowledge of the British Government. That they did so only proved they feared investigation by the British.

There are many stories of Sun's extraordinary powers of persuasion and, although he had appealed before to Cole without success, the Englishman was now impressed. He agreed to smuggle a message to Cantlie. Apparently Cole consulted a Mrs. Howe who worked at the Legation. This woman wrote a note to Dr. Cantlie and pushed it under the door of No. 46 Devonshire Street at 11 o'clock on the night of Saturday, October 17th—after Sun had been a week in captivity:

"There is a friend of yours imprisoned in the Chinese Legation here, since last Sunday. They intend sending him out to China, where it is certain they will hang him. It is very sad for the poor man, and unless something is done at once he will be taken away and no one will know it. I dare not sign my name, but this is the truth, so believe what I say. Whatever you do must be done at once or it will be too late. His name, I believe, is Lin Yen Sen."⁵⁸

Dr. Cantlie was in bed, but hearing the bell ring went down and found the note. It is strange to think of Mrs. Howe writing the letter she dared not sign; and of the amazed and confounded Dr. Cantlie in his nightgown, standing on the doormat, reading this historic document; and to realise that between them those two

ordinary English folk were unconsciously fitting a linchpin in the chariot of Chinese history.

Sun was still very unimportant in the eyes of the world and to Cantlie he was just a young friend who had been once a promising medical student but was now apparently bent on a troublesome political career. It was late but the doctor lost no time. He knew Sir Halliday Macartney was the English representative at the Chinese Legation and he assumed that Sun was imprisoned without Macartney's knowledge, so he went at once to Macartney's house. It was shut up and Cantlie could get no reply. He then went to Marylebone police station and was referred to Scotland Yard. The inspector who interviewed the doctor in the middle of the night was sceptical.

Early on Sunday morning Cantlie saw a judge and an official of the Imperial Maritime Customs of China but without any success. He then went to his old Hongkong friend Sir Patrick Manson, and while there received a visit from Cole bearing two small cards written by Sun explaining his plight. It is worth noting that one of the cards began with the sentence, "I was kidnapped on Sunday last", because Sun has been accused of writing up his story for later publication and using the word "kidnapped" to make the incident sound more sensational. In fact, the word "kidnapped" occurred naturally to Sun while in confinement and was used in this secret note to his friend. The same day Cantlie called at the office of *The Times* and gave that newspaper an account of what had happened, under the title of "Case of Kidnapping at the Chinese Legation!"

Cole astonished Manson and Cantlie by declaring that Macartney knew all about the matter and that Sun was to be removed in two days' time to the docks and put aboard a China-bound steamer. Manson and Cantlie at once renewed the appeal to Scotland Yard but, receiving no encouragement, visited the Foreign Office. They were assured their statement would receive attention on the following day, but, as time was pressing, Manson then went to the Chinese Legation and warned them the Foreign Office would act if they attempted to move Sun. Not content with this Cantlie scoured London to find a private detective to keep watch over the Legation building. He had great difficulty in finding one because it was Sunday, but eventually a man was posted in a hansom cab at the corner of Weymouth Street.

Next morning when Cole went into Sun's room he made a sign to the prisoner to look behind the coal scuttle and there Sun found a reassuring message from Cantlie reading: "Cheer up! The

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Government is working on your behalf, and you will be free in a few days."⁵⁹

The Foreign Office moved slowly, and it was two days before a writ of *habeas corpus* was made out against either the Legation or Macartney, but it was disallowed by the Judge at the Old Bailey. Meanwhile six detectives were sent by the government to watch the Legation day and night. At last the Foreign Office papers reached Lord Salisbury. Macartney was still waiting for the long-overdue cabled instructions from Peking. Sun wrote:

"Friday October 23rd dawned, and the day wore on, and still I was in durance. At 4.30 p.m., however, on that day my English and Chinese guards came into the room and said, 'Macartney wants to see you downstairs'. I was told to put on my boots and hat and overcoat. . . . I descended the stairs, and as it was to the basement I was being conducted, I believed I was to be hidden in a cellar whilst the house was being searched by the command of the British government. . . . However Dr. Cantlie presently appeared."⁶⁰

With the doctor were a Foreign Office official and an inspector of Scotland Yard. They came with a message, the content of which is unknown; but apparently it convinced Macartney that the game was up. Having read it he said:

"I hand this man over to you, and I do so on the condition that neither the prerogative nor the diplomatic rights of the legation are interfered with."⁶¹

Shortly afterwards Macartney received a cable from Peking authorising his plan for shipping Sun to China.

After his release Sun went to 46 Devonshire Street "looking very thin but happy", according to Mrs. Cantlie's diary. The next day, being Sunday, the Cantlies took Sun to the service at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields and Mrs. Cantlie wrote, in the simple piety of the time, "He is a Christian, so it was a thanksgiving service for us". Some months later Dr. Cantlie received from friends of Sun Yat-sen in Canton and Hongkong a large wooden tablet with beautifully inscribed Chinese characters carved in relief. The words were a sentence from the Sermon on the Mount, "Blessed are the merciful".

The external effects of this "kidnapping" affair were profound. The name of Sun Yat-sen, hitherto unknown in Europe, was for a time prominent in the daily press and the "rottenness" of the Manchu government was generally accepted. It is amusing to find such headlines as "The Dungeons of Portland Place", "Conspirator kidnapped in London" and "The Portland Place Bastille!" Public sympathy was all on the side of the escape revolutionist in spite

of the Englishman's traditional dislike of all revolutionary activities. Sun sent the following letter to *The Times* and other newspapers:

"Will you kindly express through your columns my keen appreciation of the action of the British Government in effecting my release from the Chinese Legation. I have also to thank the Press generally for their timely help and sympathy. If anything were needed to convince me of the generous public spirit which pervades Great Britain, and the love of justice which distinguishes its people, the recent acts of the last few days have conclusively done so. Knowing and feeling more keenly than ever what a constitutional government and an enlightened people mean, I am prompted to pursue the cause of advancement, education and civilisation, in my own beloved but oppressed country."⁶²

There can be no doubt this letter was sincere. It was also astute.

The news seeped through the strict censorship of Manchu China and henceforth Sun was more of a marked man than ever. A large price remained on his head and Chinese government spies watched his every movement. The rebel who made such a sensational escape from punishment must be caught again and next time there must be no delay over his despatch. The large number of Chinese living abroad in Malaya, in The Netherlands Indies, in Japan, Hawaii and in America all heard the story and many looked to Sun as the future liberator of their ill-governed native land.

In Hongkong, outside the control of the Manchus, *The China Mail* published a remarkable article:

"Sun Yat-sen, who has recently been in trouble in London through the Chinese Minister attempting to kidnap him for execution as a rebel, is not unlikely to become a prominent character in history. . . . It may be safely said that he is a remarkable man, with most enlightened views on the undoubtedly miserable state of China's millions and that there are many Chinese who feel very strongly on the subject and try now and then to act very strongly. . . . He is of average height, thin and wiry, with a keenness of expression and frankness of feature seldom seen in a Chinese. An unassuming manner and an earnestness of speech, combined with a quick perception and resolute judgment, go to impress one with the conviction that he is in every way an exceptional type of his race. Beneath his calm exterior is hidden a personality that cannot but be a great influence for good in China sooner or later, if the Fates are fair. In China, any advocate of reform or any foe of corruption and oppression is liable to be regarded as a violent revolutionist and summarily executed."⁶³

One minor result of the kidnapping incident must be lamented by biographers and historians. Sun's correspondence and papers were in his lodgings at 8 Gray's Inn Place. Sir Halliday Macartney

questioned him as to his London address, but Sun, realising that if the Legation got hold of these documents the names of many of his supporters would be disclosed, refused to give Macartney the address. As soon as Mrs. Cantlie heard Sun was "detained", she went to his lodgings, collected all the letters and notes she could find and burnt the lot! It is unlikely there was anything of historical interest in this particular batch of papers, but when Sun was released he was so impressed by Mrs. Cantlie's thoughtfulness that he made a habit of destroying all written evidence of his activities.

REVOLUTION OR REFORM

Why did Sun come to London in 1896?

The point is important because there were few Chinese living in England at that time, and Sun, travelling at the expense of his supporters, could not have expected to establish branches of The Progressive Chinese Society in England, as he had done in Hawaii and America. The theories put forward in most of the biographies seem a little inadequate. It is suggested the visit was just to renew friendship with the Cantlies; that Sun came to investigate the possibilities of buying arms and ammunition; and, even, that to gain admission to America without a Chinese passport, denied to his rebel status, he was obliged to buy a through ticket to England.

Up to this time the western influences that had done so much to shape Sun were predominantly English. At Iolani it was English history he learned and the struggle of the English parliament to curb the power of monarchy meant far more to him, in 1896, than the American War of Independence; the vigorous words of Cromwell, quoted in his lesson books, had not yet been erased by Lincoln's Gettysburg oration. After Iolani the next large slice of Sun's life was spent in Hongkong. There he was impressed with the power exercised from afar by England, a country smaller than his native province of Kwangtung. What could be more natural than that Sun should look to England as the centre of western civilisation and visit London to see, at first hand, the life of the virile race who ran his old school in Honolulu and his old college in Hongkong? Besides there was much that Sun needed to study in western books and where could he find better libraries than in London? Certainly not in China or Japan nor, at that time, in New York.

These reasons are sufficient to account for the voyage across the Atlantic but Sun intended to visit the European continent in the

same trip and had, also, secondary objectives in England. It was undoubtedly part of his plan to enlist the sympathy and approval of western peoples and especially those who had any authority in Far Eastern affairs. It has been overlooked, generally, that Sun had an important interview in London with Dr. Timothy Richard.

Dr. Richard was a missionary well known in China for his educational work. He was friendly with Chinese officials and was responsible for a Chinese translation of Mackenzie's *History of the Nineteenth Century*, a book which painted in strong colours the achievements of science. He was on a visit to England and just before leaving China had been warned that documents found in Canton belonging to a man called Sun Yat-sen, who was a Christian, would prejudice the Manchu government's attitude towards missions. Richard's autobiography mentions the kidnapping incident and then says:

"Shortly after this he called on me at my hotel in London and expressed his gratitude for all I had done for China by famine relief and literature. He dilated on the tyranny and corruption of the Manchus, declaring that they were all bad. In his opinion what was necessary was to replace the Manchu Government by a Chinese rule, then all would be well. I pointed out that he was mistaken, that in studying Chinese history he would find that there had been splendid Manchu officials as well as bad ones, while rascally Chinese mandarins were to be found as well as good ones. Simply to transfer the supreme power from the Manchus to the Chinese without some radical change at the heart of government was like turning a bad dollar upside down; it was still a bad dollar. Reform, not revolution, in my opinion, was needed. But Sun would not be dissuaded from the path of revolution, but directed all his energies towards disseminating revolutionary literature."⁶⁴

Sun, the doctor of medicine, was aged thirty; Richard, the doctor of divinity, was fifty-one. Sun, after working for reform, had turned definitely to a policy of revolution but there were important Chinese still working for reforms and they were ably backed by Dr. Richard and some other foreigners. Perhaps Richard did not fully realise how much there was in common between the reformers and Sun's revolutionary party but, it is certain, he disapproved of Sun's activities and to the end of his life believed reform could be brought about in China without the violence of revolution. The reform movement was going on at the same time as Sun's revolutionary efforts and, although the two were, in a sense, antagonistic, they were also complementary, and it is necessary to consider very briefly the reformers' relations with the Manchu government at this time.

Lin Yutang has drawn attention to an article by Dr. J. S. Lee

which points out that the thousands of years of Chinese civilisation may be divided into cycles of roughly eight hundred years. Each of these periods begins with a strong ruler who has unified the country; after which comes a long era of peace and progress with one change of dynasty, to be followed by wars with rivalry between north and south ending in a welter of disorder and the arrival of a new strong ruler.⁶⁵

Historians agree that the Manchu dynasty was in a tottering condition during the later half of the nineteenth century but the early rule of the Manchus was good. P. M. Roxby says:

"The Manchu dynasty had functioned brilliantly in its earlier stages, and in the eighteenth century China was one of the best governed and most orderly states in the world and reached the zenith of its fame. But in the nineteenth the Manchus were declining rapidly in vigour and efficiency."⁶⁶

During the eighteenth century there were more books in China than in all the rest of the world put together and the masses of people enjoyed a peaceful and well-governed life.

It was not at all easy for the Chinese to realise that they might learn something from foreigners. In their long history, with its unequalled record of successful community life, they learned consciously very little from abroad, except Buddhism. In their early contacts with Japan it had been the uncivilised "shrimp people" who admired and copied Chinese culture, and even when European merchants began trading with China the incentive was a European demand for Chinese goods rather than any need of China to import from the West. "Diplomatic courtesies were exchanged between the Celestial Court and the Arabs and the Persians in early times," but "No foreign Power . . . was accepted as the equal of China."⁶⁷

The famous mandate of the Chinese Emperor to King George III of England in 1793 makes merry reading today, but the Emperor was correct in terms of strict economics when he said, "As your Ambassador can see for himself, we possess all things. I set no value on objects strange or ingenious, and have no use for your country's manufacturers."⁶⁸ Alas! Europe wanted China's silks, tea and lacquer but paid for them to the extent of forty-four per cent with opium which China did not want. At the end of the nineteenth century China faced internal decay and encroachment from without by "barbarians", who could neither be defeated in war nor absorbed in the old-fashioned way. The Chinese knew their civilisation was worth preserving and, therefore, were unwilling to submit themselves to conquest by the occident.

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That the Manchu dynasty was due to decline in a period of economic distress cannot be doubted but the usual symptoms, weakening central control, corruption of the state officials, extortion by tax-gatherers and landlords, and the strain of a too rapidly increased population, were augmented by a series of tragic disputes with the trading nations of the West. Unfortunately warships, guns and rifles from the occident gave Japan the power to despoil China in the war of 1894-95 and that event, which so disturbed Sun and his friends, was followed immediately by renewed aggression from the European Powers—Russia, France, Germany, Great Britain and Italy.

The leading figure in the Manchu court at this time was The Dowager Empress Tzu Hsi (a singularly inappropriate name meaning "kind and blessed queen") who is better known by her nickname The Old Buddha. She came of one of the best Manchu families and was concubine to a former Emperor. On his death she managed, by intrigue, to get herself appointed joint-regent and before long she dominated the court and continued to exercise effective control until her death in 1908. The Old Buddha was no fool but suffered from excessive ambition and a tortuous unscrupulousness. She thoroughly appreciated the old Chinese saying, "When the Prince wants a minister to die, he dies". She did not stop at murdering her own relations and she judged every event from its probable effects on her own absolute power. As is said in The Book of Odes:

"A clever man builds a city,
A clever woman lays one low."

It was the Old Buddha who called in foreigners to help suppress the Tai Ping rebels, and after that disastrous civil war there was a natural reaction on the part of intellectual Chinese against any reforms. Nevertheless the most seclusionist Chinese could not fail to learn from the defeat by Japan that some changes in China's government were overdue. Amongst the "intellectuals" a considerable reform movement began, but the reformers were far from united. It would be wrong to classify these reformers as intellectuals in contrast to the revolutionists, because Sun and his friends were, many of them, well educated; but the reformers were led largely by scholars of a different type. They were usually better acquainted with the Chinese classics and their western knowledge was, perhaps, more academic and less scientific.

A viceroy of two provinces, named Chang Chih-tung, went so far as to sponsor a volume of essays on reform written by various

authors and published under the title *Learn*. It stressed the value of Confucianism and of loyalty to the Manchu dynasty but advocated some western methods for China. This little book was read very widely, over one million copies being sold. *Learn* agreed with the more radical reformers that the condition of China was one of emergency, that Chinese knowledge was inferior to western and that China was in danger of becoming subject to the great Powers. On the other hand it denounced strongly the idea of a republic, such as Sun Yat-sen proposed, and counselled patience until the fruits of reform were ripe for some constitutional change.

A rather more advanced reformer was Kang Yu-wei, a Cantonese eight years older than Sun. Kang ran a school in Canton where he discovered a brilliant pupil in Liang Chi-chao, who later became a very popular writer. These two, master and pupil, went together to Peking both to compete in the highest government examination. Kang was successful and in the moment of fame issued a memorial to the Emperor urging reforms. Liang acted for a time as secretary to Dr. Timothy Richard. These reformers were responsible for one of the earliest modern-style Chinese newspapers, published in censor-free Shanghai.

There is a proverb in China, "If you would understand the business of the Empire read the works of the ancients" and in popular estimation, as well as in official circles, Confucius was the greatest of the ancients. Orthodox Confucianism was very conservative and Kang criticised it by declaring that Confucius was, in fact, a creative thinker and a source of inspiration to reformers—much as orthodox Christianity might be criticised as being deaf to the revolutionary nature of Christ's teaching. Kang displayed Confucius in a fresh light, turning the philosopher's reforming side to the public view.

There were other reformers besides these men and, at last, some of the zeal for reform penetrated to the Palace. The Emperor was a weak young man who had been placed on the throne at the age of four by the scheming Old Buddha in violation of the rule of succession. For fifteen years he reigned as a minor under her masterful control but, now that he was of age, she retired to the Summer Palace, on which she spent a large sum of money raised by taxation for the building of a new navy.

The Emperor, with new-found freedom, ordered a few railways to be built. This was only a beginning. Next he read some modern books, including some by Kang. When news of this royal enlightenment reached Kang he prevailed on the Imperial tutor to procure

him an interview with the Emperor and from this, and subsequent interviews, came the comedy known as "the hundred days of reform". In the year 1898, during the hot and lazy months of June, July, August and September when the court was usually quite moribund, the weak Emperor, stimulated by Kang's teaching, issued edict after edict inaugurating many reforms. The examination system, which had changed only in slight detail in more than seven hundred years, was to include new western subjects; military studies were to be modernized; a university for occidental teaching was to be built in Peking; temples were to be closed for religious use and opened as schools; the students sent abroad for education were now to include young Manchu nobles; there was to be an official bureau for translations and, most disturbing of all, many sinecure offices were abolished.

This flush of edicts amazed the foreign residents and even The Old Buddha was caught napping in her Summer Palace. The reformers knew there would be opposition from The Old Buddha and planned to imprison her. According to some accounts they intended first to murder her chief adviser, but their plan was betrayed by an official, Yüan Shih-kai, who later played a big part in Chinese history and the affairs of Sun Yat-sen. Dr. Richard, who was in close touch with some of the leading reformers of this comedy, does not accept the report of intended murder, but it seems certain the Emperor's friends plotted to arrest The Old Buddha and that Yüan Shih-kai gave them away.

One of the Manchu princes who attended The Old Buddha once confessed he was "horribly afraid of her Majesty, and that when she spoke to him he was on tenter-hooks, as though thorns pricked him, and sweat ran down his face".⁶⁹ Certainly when The Old Buddha was roused she was dangerous. As soon as she heard Yüan Shih-kai's story she arrested all the reform leaders she could find and imprisoned the Emperor on a lake island known as "Immortals' Island"; at the same time she resumed the regency with an ironic edict declaring the Emperor needed "a little rest" from the burdens and responsibilities of state.

"The hundred days of reform" were ended. The edicts were annulled; the newspapers suppressed; many connected with the reform movement fled abroad; the officials who introduced reformers to the Emperor were degraded or imprisoned for life; six reform leaders were executed without trial; Kang was saved by the British Consul-General who packed him off to Hongkong in an English steamer and Liang made a spectacular escape to Japan. Truly the proverb

says, "To attend on the Emperor is like sleeping with a tiger!"

Six years later, when The Old Buddha celebrated her seventieth birthday, she declared an amnesty for political offenders, excepting only three who were beyond all pardon. The three were the reformers Kang and Liang and the revolutionist Sun Yat-sen. As one Chinese historian puts it, "the country was at the mercy of one proud, ignorant, flattery-besotted woman".⁷⁰ In this way it came about that the end of the century found reformers and revolutionists in strangely similar plight. Neither could claim to have accomplished much: both suffered the arrest and execution of minor leaders and both had their main leaders in exile.

The differences between the policies of the reformers and the revolutionists were considerable but can be greatly exaggerated. All agreed that China must change, and change quickly, or perish. The reformers were intellectuals who kept one hand on the firm wall of Confucian classics while using the other to grope their way towards the western door beneath which they could see a chink of light. But Sun was no irresponsible young man blindly rejecting everything from the past. Long before he met Dr. Richard, and before the reformers made any headway, he was warning The Progressive Chinese Society "if we do not rouse ourselves in time, our thousands of years of fame and culture, our many generations of tradition and morals will be destroyed". The reformers wanted to modernise education, improve transport by railways, elect officials by popular vote and generally westernise China; all these things had been in Sun's programme since his student days.

Some of Kang's proposals, in his long-term policy, went further than anything Sun ever advocated; as, for example, the abolition of the family and the state rearing of children; while some, as, for example, the abolition of national boundaries, were as impractical as any of Sun's later dreams.

Dr. Richard was right in asserting that the real change needed was a radical change at the heart of government but, with the advantage of subsequent history to illumine the scene, we may well doubt if such a change could have come while The Old Buddha and the degenerate Manchus controlled China. The reformers thought China might be saved with no more violence than an odd murder or two; Sun saw no prospect of sufficient reform without violence and, with the singleness of mind which characterises all great leaders, he concentrated on the essential revolution.

Meanwhile, as a reaction from the reform movement, the con-

servative elements in China began an anti-foreign policy that culminated in the dreadful Boxer outbreak. The Boxers were the descendants of an old secret society founded to throw out the Manchus, but they had long since forgotten this aim and now, with one of those queer twists that come more frequently to single politicians than to whole parties, they found themselves on the same side as the Manchus.

The Boxers were anti-foreign and their feelings were aggravated by famine and by absurd rumours about the work of missionaries and their converts. It is true some missionaries were over-critical of long-cherished customs and insufficiently appreciative of the best in Chinese institutions. Readers of *The Exile*, by Pearl Buck, will recognise the type, but on the whole missionaries were doing magnificent educational and medical work for China, the value of which is usually understated. It was natural for many Chinese to link up missions with the aggressive politics and trade of the foreigners and, at the same time, Chinese and Manchu officials were quick to see that the hated reformers and revolutionists were almost all friendly with missionaries, if they were not actually Christians, like Sun Yat-sen.

So The Old Buddha adroitly turned the discontented Boxers from criticising her own régime to open attack on the white foreigners. With such slogans as "Protect the country, destroy the foreigner", these half-bandit soldiers broke into the homes of missionaries, murdering many of them and their families. More would have perished but for the action of moderate Chinese some of whom risked their lives to save foreigners. Western inventions like railways, telephones, electric cables and post offices were destroyed. For eight weeks the legations were besieged and then relieving forces of white soldiers arrived and drove off the troops of The Old Buddha and her Boxer allies. The Old Buddha escaped from Peking in disguise, carrying off the weak young Emperor after ordering his favourite concubine to be drowned in a well. Peking was occupied and plundered by the relieving forces of the Powers.

Sun Yat-sen had no part in the Boxer rising, the result of which was to bring China still more under the control of the Powers and to discredit still further the Manchu government. Its effect on Sun was to deepen his feeling of compassion for his distressed countrymen and to strengthen his determination to overthrow the Manchus. It led to another attempt at revolution, but before dealing with that we must consider briefly what befell Sun in the difficult years between his spiritual crisis in London and the Boxer outbreak.

PART FOUR

THE BIG RUG

That so many of the poor should suffer from cold what can we do
to prevent?

To bring warmth to a single body is not much use.

I wish I had a big rug ten thousand feet long,

Which at one time could cover up every inch of the City.

Po Chu-I (A.D. 772-846).

From *One Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems*,
by Arthur Waley.

A LESSON FROM EUROPE

MOST men who take a firm line of action, such as starting a war or rebellion, cannot go back on their decision. They have no good line of retreat and must fight it out. Sun Yat-sen could have given up his crusade at any time and never more easily than after his release from the Chinese Legation in London. His wife, mother and children were with Ah Mi in Hawaii, clear of the clutches of the Manchus, and there was nothing to stop Sun from joining them and settling down to a safe life in the business of his prosperous brother.

From Dr. Richard, and probably from more direct sources, Sun learned of the progress of the reformers who, although they achieved nothing practical before the edicts of "the hundred days", were yet making a considerable stir in Chinese public opinion while Sun was still in London. At least Dr. Richard had high hopes of their early success and must have spoken his hopes to Sun. Possibly on that account Sun remained in Europe, marking time, till it was clear in which direction he must march.

However this may be, it is certain Sun remained in London for some months and afterwards wandered about Europe until the time when The Old Buddha squashed the reform movement. Then Sun returned to the Far East.

While in London Sun read widely and according to Dr. Cantlie, who had a practised eye for observing the diligence of students, he read "closely and persistently". The age of the specialist had not yet come and there was so much of Western learning unknown to China that it is not surprising to find the subjects Sun studied covered such a miscellaneous range as political science, diplomacy,

law, military and naval matters, agriculture, mining and engineering. In this connection Cantile made the extravagant remark, "the range of his opportunities for acquiring knowledge has been such as few men ever had", but the doctor may have been thinking of the extraordinarily retentive minds of the Chinese or may have been impressed, in the many conversations he had with Sun, by the wide general knowledge of his young friend.

Sun came to these studies of Western books with singularly little bias. All European political and social theories were new to him and he was spared the normal tendency of Westerners to read through spectacles tinted by a class system of education.

What struck Sun most forcibly was the difference between theory and practice in the social life of England. Hitherto he had contrasted change-resisting China with its corrupt Manchu rulers, its unjust officials and its village life haunted by evil spirits; with the altruism of his missionary friends, the orderliness of Iolani and Hongkong and the theory of democracy.

Now, in passing from his lodgings at 8 Gray's Inn Place, Holborn, to the west-end home of his friends in Devonshire Street he saw two adjacent districts of London that were far apart in social conditions.

There were much worse slums in Canton, but Sun had imagined England to be a wealthy country where all are free from want. In the poorer parts of London he saw ill-housed men and women so absorbed in the struggle for a livelihood that they knew nothing of politics and had no sense of vocation. When he visited continental cities he found the same gap between the theory of liberty, equality and fraternity and practical social conditions.

Sun found, too, that everywhere in the Western world there were advanced thinkers fully conscious of this distressing phenomenon. They sought to create a new and more equitable social order, some even talking of the need for revolution. Karl Marx had been translated into English and, while Sun was still in Europe, there came from across the Atlantic news of the dramatic death of Henry George, the American economist. George's book *Progress and Poverty* had been published long enough to influence a wide circle of reformers and Sun was greatly impressed by his views on land ownership.

Exorbitant landlords have been a curse in China for many generations and Sun, remembering how his own father slaved to raise crops half of which went to the owner of the land as rent, read with

enthusiasm George's ideas about public ownership of land; and that landlords should pay the state a rent-tax, while everything made by man should be free from all tax.

Once, in a library in London, Sun made the acquaintance of some Russian exiles who told him of the deplorable conditions in Czarist Russia and talked of the need for revolution there.

On the continent Sun travelled cheaply. "I have often for weeks together lived on a little rice and water and I have journeyed many hundreds of miles on foot," he declared. In this way Sun obtained a far better knowledge of how the masses of European people lived than could have been learned from books or been seen from the balconies of The Grand Hotels frequented by more conventional travellers.

Those who hold advanced or retarded ideas hold them usually with tenacity. Sun was no exception and, although he was impressed by the failure of Western countries to solve the problem of social justice, he did not abandon his cherished idea of westernising China. He concluded that Democracy was fundamentally sound and China must become a republic, but at the same time more was needed than just a constitutional change. A social revolution, taking care of the livelihood of the people, must be imposed on top of the democratic system. China has had many dynasties, established by almost as many revolutions; this time it would not be enough merely to bring in a new régime—republic or monarchic; this time a new constitution must go hand in hand with "a new deal". More than once Sun Yat-sen showed what one writer calls "acute prevision". He did so now.

When Sun left Europe, just before the end of the century, he took back with him nothing in the way of support for his small and discouraged party, but in his mind was the germ of an idea that took five or six years to develop into a formula for the government of China. This formula was destined to grow into the most widely known political treatise of modern times—*The Three Principles of the People*.

With sound political judgment Sun kept well in the front of his campaign the evils of the Manchus and the need to throw them out, but as early as this he was concerned with the social implications of his policy.

THE SECOND ATTEMPT

After the first abortive attempt at revolution in 1895, Sun and his small following were regarded in China with a good deal of contempt. "All looked on us as rioters, robbers, who were doing something unjust," wrote Sun. "We were overwhelmed with curses and abuse, we were looked on as poisonous snakes and people avoided our acquaintance."⁷¹

When the Boxers were suppressed, and the Powers had exacted an enormous indemnity from China, and while the distressed land was still disorganised with disbanded soldiers roaming and rioting where they would, Sun, who was now back in Japan, decided to strike again. He sent a small contingent, trained under Japanese supervision, and commanded by his trusty friend, Cheng Shih-liang, to prepare for operations in China. Another leader, Li Kiang-jo, was detailed to organise a rising elsewhere. It was felt no time should be lost for there were still foreign troops of eight different Powers in China clearing up the Boxers and Sun hoped for sufficient success to gain for his party the backing of the Powers. He wrote of preparations going on "very feverishly".

It was Sun's intention to assume personal control over what he called "a disciplined revolutionary army", but when he reached Hongkong he was betrayed "by some scoundrel" and the Hongkong authorities would not allow him to land. The Manchu government, nearly three years after the "kidnapping" incident, issued a face-saving account of what had happened in London and obtained from the British government a promise that Sun Yat-sen would not be allowed to return to Hongkong. This ban now applied. In London the British government saved Sun from the Manchus, in Hongkong they saved the Manchus from Sun. Thus, early in the campaign, the leader was stopped on his way to join his forces and the plans were disorganised.

Sun returned to Japan and then doubled back to Formosa. This large island was wrested by Japan from China five years earlier under the Treaty of Shimonoseki and its situation made a good jumping-off place for Sun. The Japanese Governor-General sympathised with the revolutionists, probably on instructions from Tokyo, and agreed to give Sun support. On the strength of this Sun extended his original plan, increasing the number of "politically conscious" military officers. He realised from the earliest days of his revolu-

tionary activities the importance of propaganda and the need to teach his troops the political doctrine for which they fought.

Instructions were sent to Cheng Shih-liang to change the plan of an assault on the principal city of the province and instead to seize the coastal areas and effect a general concentration there. Acting on these instructions Cheng attacked the Manchu troops with his peasant detachments and met with considerable success. Numbers of the enemy fled, throwing away their arms, and Cheng occupied a large tract of country. From his wide following amongst the secret members of The Triad he collected as many as ten thousand supporters who now waited impatiently for the arrival of the arms and trained officers Sun was to send from Formosa. These operations lasted thirty days.

In the meantime, ten days after the attack began, the whole of Sun's careful plan collapsed because of a change in the Japanese government. The so-called Liberals, who had given him encouragement, were turned out of office and the new Conservative government at once ordered the Governor-General in Formosa to withdraw his support. They forbade the supply of the essential arms and ammunition which had been promised. It is idle to speculate what might have happened but for this unpredictable turn of events, but it is certain Sun's second attempt came near to achieving spectacular success.

A Japanese named Yamada was sent by Sun with the bitter news to Cheng, who after his victorious thirty days had no alternative but to disband his forces and make his way with a few hundred comrades to Hongkong. Yamada was captured by the Manchus and at once executed. Sun records, "This was the first foreigner who sacrificed his life on the altar of the Chinese Revolution".

Li Kiang-jo at Canton was awaiting a favourable moment to start a diversion. When he realised he could do nothing to help Cheng he attempted to bomb the Viceroy's *yamên* and was arrested and executed. Sun was deeply grieved by the loss of Li who, he says, resembled in courage and talents Lu Hao-tung, his "doctrinal friend", the first martyr for the cause. "They both painted and wrote verses well. . . . I always remember them: although they are dead, yet their souls still continue to dwell around my breast."

An American in the area of disturbance during this second attempt at revolution wrote:

"When I went through southern China in October for the purpose of seeing something of the Rebellion which was in progress near Canton, I was perpetually hearing of Sun Yat-sen. He was the organizer, the invisible leader, the strange, mysterious personality whose power was working it all. Yet no one could tell his exact whereabouts. Sometimes one heard that he was in Formosa, sometimes that he was in Hongkong in disguise, sometimes that he was in a district close to that in which the Rebellion was in progress and which would shortly also flare up in insurrection. . . ."72

So, although the British authorities in Hongkong upset Sun's plans and kept him from active participation in this attempt, his acknowledged leadership was like that of an Elusive Pimpernel; he became a "mystery-man" about whose personality legends grew and, it is possible, he was of greater value to his cause in this capacity than he would have been as an active general.

FROM JAPANESE HEADQUARTERS

The difficulties facing Sun Yat-sen and his friends after the failure of the second attempted revolution were enormous. Exiled from China and watched by Manchu spies wherever they went they were also barred from other lands by official protests of the Manchu government to the countries concerned.

Japan proved to be as good a place to establish headquarters as anywhere. The Chinese consul in Yokohama had no jurisdiction over Chinese in Japan, and Sun, with perhaps a dash of bravado, set up his revolutionary headquarters at No. 121 Yamashita Cho, only a few doors from the Chinese consulate!

There was work for him to do in Japan, too, for some ten thousand Chinese lived in the country and, soon after Sun's arrival, there began an increasing stream of Chinese students sent by the Manchu government to study in Japanese colleges and universities. More than six hundred crossed the East China sea for this purpose in 1903, a thousand more came next year and by 1905 the total of Chinese students in Japan reached the remarkable figure of ten thousand. There were, also, exiles of the Chinese reform movement who shared Sun's banishment.

This was fertile soil for revolutionary seed and what Europe came to know much later as fifth-column tactics were well understood by Sun: it was a major part of his plan to arouse within China a host of passive supporters who, when the time came, would form the advance guard of the revolution. To do this Sun had to visit China

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and the Chinese-populated territories of British Malaya and French Indo-China.

There are so many vivid stories of this period that some writers are inclined to dismiss them all as untrue or exaggerated. But the evidence for some sensational stories cannot be doubted. Dr. Cantlie recalled a few of Sun's adventures from conversations with him. "Even now," wrote Cantlie years later, "I do not feel justified in disclosing the various disguises used by Sun when from his new headquarters in Japan he travelled incognito to many parts of the interior of China."

One disguise is described as that of a spectacled pedlar with knick-knacks in his wallet. At another time Sun passed for a coolie and, again, as a Japanese. His disguise as a Japanese was so perfect that once, in Cantlie's company, he entered a Japanese shop and could not persuade the salesman he was Chinese. Without his queue and with a Japanese name he had no difficulty in passing himself off as a Japanese amongst his own countrymen.

That Sun was often careless of his safety is evident from a record of his biographer, George Soulié de Morant, who virtually saved Sun's life in Shanghai in 1903:

"It was at this time that Destiny put into my hands for a moment the life of Sun. His head then had a price on it of £100,000 (2,500,000 francs at that time). As for me, I was a Judge of the French Mixed Court at a salary of 6,000 francs a year. I was responsible for dealing with all demands of the Chinese authorities for the extradition of their countrymen seeking shelter in the French Settlement. I verified and then issued visas for all Chinese passports for French territory with special orders not to admit undesirables. Sun, going from Japan to Indo-China, had the cool audacity (it is true, he took a French steamer) to come to Shanghai to ask the Consul-General for a permit to enter Indo-China because as an outlaw he had no national passport. I gave him his permit.

"While Sun was still in my office the Chinese governor came in state: I went to receive him. After allusion to the 'overwhelming gratitude' of his government, he asked me to countersign a warrant for the arrest of Sun, indicted under common law. I might have easily overlooked the name of the great revolutionary, for his work was still underground and I was moreover soon going to be labelled by responsible persons as a visionary because I foretold his probable success.

"Besides, apart from just not noticing the name I might have perhaps signed the warrant, since such warrants were brought up every day and it was impossible to verify all the documents presented by the Chinese authorities relating to fugitives from their justice. The life of Sun and possibly the success of his work was in the balance. The very examination of this document would have meant his certain end.

"The ideas of liberty, equality of justice and the welfare of the people are ideas which France has not ceased to propagate. I asked the governor to produce evidence of the alleged crimes that I might examine the case myself to be certain that the political misdemeanour was not the only matter. He went away to ask instructions from his government. Meanwhile Sun went aboard a ship that was on the point of sailing."⁷³

The big reward for Sun's capture was a temptation to many and twice he found himself at the mercy of would-be betrayers. On both occasions his cool demeanour and persuasive words overcame his captors: as the proverb says, "When one man disregards his life ten thousand others are no match for him".

In China Sun's work was done in secret, but in British Malaya he openly preached revolution against the Manchus and everywhere set up branches of his secret societies. His appeal was addressed not only to the well-to-do Chinese merchants and Estate managers but also to the poorest labourers. Sun was insistent, always, that he wanted a revolution of the people; not a movement supported only by one class. In this he followed the tradition of the Chinese sages who never overlooked the importance of the ordinary man in community life. *The Book of History*, edited by Confucius, contains a verse:

"The people should be cherished,
And should not be downtrodden.
The people are the root of a country,
And if the root is firm, the country will be tranquil."⁷⁴

Sun in his dangerous work used various ways of tricking the authorities. He obtained, by fraud, from the American Secretary of Hawaii a certificate of birth stating, falsely, that he was born in the Hawaiian islands. With this he could, when it suited his purpose, claim American citizenship, since Hawaii had been annexed by the United States in 1898. Critics have been very severe on Sun for this deception, but a man who has forfeited his national status by rebellion cannot afford to be scrupulous in such matters. It is probable, too, that a Chinese would consider a deception of this sort in a different light from a Westerner, for the high moral code of China lays a lighter stress on the letter of the law.

Striking evidence of the progress made by Sun, in spite of the failure of the second attempt, is to be seen in the impression he now made on a wider circle than the few friends like Cheng Shih-liang and Charles Soong and the staunch supporters of a less educated class. There was good hope of ultimate success when

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prominent men of very different types felt it worth their while to seek interviews with the persistent revolutionary leader.

One of the first to do so was Dr. Timothy Richard who, in spite of his disagreement with Sun, had been impressed when they met in London. Richard was returning to China in the year 1900 and he called on Sun and attempted to dissuade him from further revolutionary activities. This fine missionary still believed that the Manchus could be "enlightened" by literature; but it is rather pathetic that he was unable to extend to Sun, whom he knew so slightly, the same charitable judgment which he allowed Manchu and Chinese officials who were well known to him. "I saw he had never forgiven the Manchus for imprisoning him in the Chinese Legation in London," he wrote in 1916, disregarding the fact of Sun's earlier revolt and unmindful of Sun's wide reputation for forgivingness. Some years later Dr. Richard was to seek a third interview with Sun Yat-sen under somewhat dramatic circumstances.

Sun had not been long in Japan before two members of the Liberal party were sent by Inukai to invite him to Tokyo. Inukai held a prominent position amongst the progressives and later became premier of Japan. As a result of this invitation Sun met a little group of Japanese politicians, including the famous Okuma, at that time Minister of Foreign Affairs, and discussed with them the prospects of their respective parties. "We talked about our affairs as if we were old and intimate friends," wrote Sun in his *Autobiography*.

This early encouragement from some of the most enlightened Japanese made a lasting impression on Sun. Although Japan had but recently defeated China, Sun was convinced that the chief blame for the war rested with the Manchus and there was, at that time, no resentment on the part of the Chinese people. On the contrary many Chinese began to see Japan in a new light. It was no longer the land of "the shrimp people", who with great deference looked up to ancient China as to a cultured and more highly civilised race. Japan was now the only Asiatic Power in full control in her own country. By rapidly assimilating western learning, she had become strong enough to demand equality with the nations of the occident. Many Chinese were looking to Japan for guidance along the same road to complete independence. So Sun Yat-sen was far from being alone in his admiration for the Japanese and it was natural he should respond whole-heartedly to the welcome given him by the Liberal leaders. At the same time Sun had no doubt that his countrymen were superior in intelligence to the Japanese. "What the Japanese

have taken thirty years to accomplish would not take us longer than fifteen," he observed to an American interviewer.⁷⁵

An "intellectual" of the Chinese reform party, who held the post of Professor at one of the modern Universities established about this time in China, has described how he and his fellow professors used to discuss the merits of eastern and western learning. At opium parties they would lie in comfort on their couches, pulling at opium pipes, while arguing. In 1901 this man visited Japan, and being invited by three of his Chinese friends to go with them to meet Sun Yat-sen refused, thinking Sun unworthy of a visit. He was astonished when his companions reported that Sun had the appearance and mind of a great man. The sceptical professor was converted from reform to revolution and later, on account of his revolutionary activities, had to flee from China to England. He became a sworn member of Sun's most advanced revolutionary brotherhood.

Even in Japan, Sun Yat-sen was not safe from the agents of the Manchus and he used as an alias the Japanese name Nakayama. It is written in two Chinese characters which are in common use in the Japanese written language. These characters are pronounced in Chinese, Chung-shan, meaning "central mountain", and it is interesting to find that, even now, Sun Yat-sen is known to his countrymen as Sun Chung-shan; implying, so it is said, that as the leader of modern China he is the central mountain, towering above all others. This accounts for the name Chung-shan given to a university, to colleges and, even, to villages, in honour of Sun Yat-sen.

Early in 1901 an American writer, George Lynch, obtained an interview with Sun in Yokohama and his report is worth quoting at some length because of its detailed observation:

"He was living in a house in the Chinese quarter. Passing through a strange labyrinth of lanes, I stopped opposite a gloomy-looking house in a dark street. No lights were visible in front of the house, but on knocking I found Mr. 'Nakayama' was expecting me. I followed a tall well-built Chinaman down a dark passage and passed several doors which were closed behind us. I was shown into a brilliantly lighted room, and as I entered, a short young man, dressed in European clothes, stepped forward, from a table around which were seated a number of Chinamen in native costume, with outstretched hand to greet me. At first sight one would take him for a Japanese, slightly built, with pointed black moustache and bright, dark eyes. His manner was brisk, and the grasp of his lithe shapely hand was firm, with a lingerage of Oriental caress in it. The room was plain furnished with European chairs, tables and bookcases which were well stocked with English and French books and periodicals. They all related to warfare, munitions of war, history or political

economy. He had all the latest publications on these subjects—the last edition of Block's book on 'Modern Warfare and Weapons', Clery's 'Minor Tactics', apparently every book that has been written on the Boer War, besides several technical works on explosives and projectiles. He had no reluctance to speak about the rebellion which he had lately organized. He brought down maps and pointed out the places where engagements were fought, and the line of march of the rebels. He explained that they had failed only for want of ammunition. . . .

"We are not in the least depressed," said Sun Yat-sen, 'over the result. Quite the reverse, in fact, as it shows us how easily the Imperial troops can be defeated, as soon as our men are properly armed and prepared for a great effort. . . .'

"I asked him if he saw no prospect of reform in China short of revolution. He replied that anyone who knows the Chinese Court and knows the people by whom the Emperor is surrounded and influenced, must know that he is powerless for effectively carrying out the drastic reforms necessary. Sun Yat-sen's ambition, and that of his friends, is to carry out a revolution similar to that which took place in Japan thirty years ago. The Japanesing of China is what they want. He talked earnestly on this subject, with complete conviction. To my enquiry as to whether the people of China would be as ready to change as the Japanese, he replied that they certainly would, if they were led and directed by their natural leaders. . . .

"He talked long and interestingly of his aims and projects. He has a good following of what he calls modernized young Chinamen, who have been educated in England, in Honolulu and in Japan, and among them men who are sufficiently wealthy to supply the requisite funds when the time comes for what they believe to be the only salvation of their country. . . .

"It is certainly a great ambition," I remarked.

"Yes," he said slowly, puffing out a great cloud of cigar-smoke and beginning to pace the room. 'It is worth giving one's life for.' Then he went on to speak of China, its vastness, its immense population, its undeveloped resources, and the possibilities that the future holds for it, if there comes a great awakening like that which came to Japan. . . .

"Seldom have I met a more interesting personality. There was that inexplicable something about him that stamped him as a leader of men, a personal magnetism about him that affected one strangely, a singleness of purpose to the end for which he was devoting his life that compelled admiration. . . ."⁷⁶

Although Sun spoke hopefully to his interviewer of the number of young Chinese with western education who supported his cause, he must have been disappointed at the poor response from the non-student Chinese residing in Japan—less than one hundred out of a total of about ten thousand! Nevertheless Sun was beginning to win adherents of the right kind and to be recognised by men of ability as an outstanding personality.

It is known that Sun visited Hanoi in French Indo-China in 1903

at the invitation of the French government who, probably, reckoned him a "coming man" with whom they had better make friendly contacts. The same year he went to Honolulu but nothing very definite is known of his expeditions from Japan to China at this time. It is, however, probable that Sun went to Shanghai more than once between 1889 and 1903.

In 1843 Shanghai was an insignificant Chinese town of 25,000 inhabitants but by the end of the century it had grown to a large cosmopolitan port, with a foreign-controlled settlement which was a useful sanctuary for Chinese malcontents. As China's largest city, at the outlet of the river basin which supports a twelfth of the world's population, Shanghai was the natural centre of the first western industries to be established in China. In 1896 *The Commercial Press of Shanghai* was founded and before long there were a number of newspapers and other publishing ventures. One of these was a small business run by Charles Jones Soong. This ardent Christian used his printing machines to produce Bibles and religious tracts which, it is said, he gave away, and to print secret revolutionary pamphlets for Sun Yat-sen.

Sun found a quicker response to his propaganda in China than amongst the emigrants in Japan but he was disappointed by their low intelligence and lack of real convictions. It was, perhaps, natural that emigrants should be quicker-witted. Sun showed discernment when he recorded that these easily-gained converts in China "could be used as a passive force but under no circumstances could they be an active force".⁷⁷

There is a record of a visit made by Sun to the Soongs, apparently in the year 1900, when he stayed in their house and was regarded by the Soong children as an uncle; that he was popular with them is more than likely, for we have Dr. Cantlie's record that children "conceived a deep regard" for Sun. At that time the eldest Soong girl Eling, now Madame Kung, was eleven years old, her sister Chingling was eight and Mayling, now Madame Chiang Kai-shek, was a baby of two.

Chingling had just started school at McTyeire, a western-style boarding school for girls in Shanghai. She has been described as a very sober and studious girl who, at a very early age, showed an unusual interest in moral and philosophical questions. She learned English quickly, but on account of her dreamy disposition and quiet ways the record of her school life is not so full of anecdotes as those of her sisters.

"Uncle" Sun was then thirty-four and, since even Mrs. Soong at that time did not know that he and her husband were engaged on revolutionary work, it is not to be supposed that Eling and Chingling had any romantic ideas about the visitor's occupation. But they can hardly have failed to observe the almost reverential attitude of their father to Dr. Sun. Sun had seen very little of home life and enjoyed every minute of his visits to the Soong home.

In 1903 Sun spent six months in Hawaii, perhaps the first time he had seen his own family since 1895. Ah Mi was still prospering as a large-scale farmer. He welcomed his young brother with some pride, for if he had made no money he was at least far along the road to fame; but Sun Yat-sen must have been conscious of the difference between his ideals and those of Ah Mi. Prosperity has a way of tingeing patriotism with self-interest and the elder brother backed the revolutionists partly from conviction but, also, in the hope that success would bring lucrative appointments for all in the family, after the traditional Chinese way. The *Book of History* describes the procedure neatly when it tells of a leader making "a bridge for his clansmen".

Sun Fo was now twelve years old and looked at his father as at a stranger. The two girls were a little younger than Eling and Chingling Soong. Lu Szu, the wife Sun married in filial obedience, still waited dutifully upon her mother-in-law. She was a fine type of Chinese countrywoman but ignorant and, at this time, unable to read. As she hobbled about on her "lily feet" she seemed to her much-travelled husband an embodiment of that old spirit-haunted China he was working so hard to destroy.

ORATOR AND ORGANISER

On December 13, 1903, Sun addressed a public meeting in a Honolulu theatre. The Chinese audience, in spite of their sojourn in Hawaii, still wore queues and long robes, so that a reporter describing Sun drew attention to his linen suit and short-cropped hair. This was the first large audience addressed by Sun but he gave the impression of being "an orator of considerable power". Apparently the newspaper reporter was surprised to find Sun no "fanatic" and observes that he evidently moved the hearts of the audience, for he was frequently applauded.

One of the most remarkable facts about Sun Yat-sen, a fact that none disputes, was his amazing gift of oratory. This public meeting

in Honolulu was the first of a number of big meetings in different countries when Sun made long speeches on somewhat dull political subjects. Even allowing for the higher standards of public speaking expected nowadays, and the decline in the patience of audiences, it is astonishing that Sun was so uniformly successful in holding the attention of masses of ordinary men, for three or four hours on end, while he spoke of such abstractions as republics and constitutions. Of course, he succeeded because he believed what he said was of paramount importance and because he cared deeply for the welfare of the people he was speaking to—but, even so, the rather short, commonplace-looking man with his conventionally neat western clothes must have had some unusual power that most good orators lack.

The records of those who went to Sun's meetings are strangely contradictory as to his manner. It is certain he did not follow the advice of Lao-Tzü, "Be sparing of speech, and things will come right of themselves", for those of his speeches which were afterwards published are verbose. Some who heard him, and were not particularly impressed by what he said, were evidently puzzled, for in their accounts such vague words as "magnetism" and "magnetic" crop up. More than one newspaper reporter described Sun's eloquent gestures and a Chinese, who sat on Sun's platform on many occasions, told the writer that Sun waved his arms, threw out his chest and, in moments of excitement, raised his voice to a shout. On the other hand a trained western observer, J. Ellis Barker, in *The Fortnightly Review*, wrote:

"He does not care to use the dramatic eloquence which appeals to the imagination and the passions of the masses, and which is usually found in political and religious reformers of the ordinary kind. . . . I have heard Dr. Sun Yat-sen addressing a meeting of his countrymen. He spoke quietly and almost monotonously with hardly any gestures, but the intent way in which his audience listened to every word—his speeches occupy often three or four hours, and even then his hearers never tire of listening to him—showed me the powerful effect which he was able to exercise over his hearers. . . ."

Where evidence is so conflicting we can only assume that to some the matter of the speech was sufficiently absorbing to leave all gestures unnoticed—as a fish may swallow bait, hook and sinker!

Sun's first big meeting aroused so much attention that the English language newspapers in Honolulu published the substance of his message to the Chinese people:

"We must develop a spirit of nationalism among the Chinese who are not Manchus; this is my life work. Once this spirit is awakened the Chinese nation will rise in the might of its four hundred million people and overthrow the Manchu dynasty forever. Then the republic will be erected, for the great provinces of China are like the States of the American Union, and what we need is a President to govern all alike. . . .

"We are men without a country. When we go to foreign lands and we are assaulted, the Imperial Government does not care for us. Why do you wear the cue? It is a sign of Manchu supremacy. To disobey this order, in China, would mean decapitation for you.

"Many of us fear that the Powers will divide China. If we do not assist them they cannot do it. Some say that we ought to have a constitutional monarchy, but that is out of the question. There is no reason why we cannot have a republic. China is already a rudimentary republic." 78

Sun was undoubtedly right in his diagnosis that China's troubles were due, politically, to the lack of a spirit of nationalism together with the bad rule of the Manchus and the encroachments of the western Powers. When he asserted that China was "already a rudimentary republic" he did not overlook the long tradition of government by The Son of Heaven but had in mind rather the essential fact of democratic village rule. Had not his own father been a village elder by popular election? Sun once recalled that up to his thirteenth year, when he left Choyhung for Iolani, he had never heard of Peking as the centre of imperial authority. "Peking meant nothing to us," he said. The villages looked to the nearest town where officials dwelt as "the final authority in all matters of law and order" and the village elders saw to it that tax obligations to this town were met promptly, "since they looked upon the accomplishment of this duty much as they would the bribing of the river pirates. They paid to be left alone."

There was, then, a good deal of justification for Sun's description of China as a "rudimentary" republic, but to western readers some qualification is desirable. The system of village rule varied considerably from village to village: elders were elected sometimes by popular vote, sometimes by rota, sometimes under control of a mandarin—but, always, the unit of importance was the family, and apart from the family the individual had no rights. Moreover the family was more important than the state and, in any conflict of loyalties, the family came first. There is a story, in the *Analects*, of a boastful Duke who said his subjects were so honest that if a man stole a sheep his own son would give evidence against him: Confucius was shocked and made it clear that in a state where the people

were "conscientious", a son would shield his father and a father would shield his son--the family being more important than the state. With this qualification in mind, we can accept Sun Yat-sen's comparison of the provinces of China with the states of the American Union and his notion that China was already a "rudimentary" republic.

The reformer Kang Yu-wei, who was opposed to the idea of a republic for China, agreed with Sun that there was much democracy among the people, that the power of the Emperor was not felt acutely in inland towns and cities (and China is essentially a country of inland towns, cities and villages) and that life was ordered on a very free and democratic basis; but he asserted, "There will come a day when every country will be a republic. But that is far ahead for China. The majority of the Chinese people are illiterate, uneducated, with no knowledge of national affairs. Democracy is a system of government for the educated. . . ."79

The issue has been long since settled but it may be observed that the scholarly Kang overestimated the degree of education amongst the democratic nations, though not the degree of education *desirable* in a democracy, and that Sun had a more exalted faith in the common sense of the common people. Sun, however, did show considerable obstinacy in his preference for a republic rather than a constitutional monarchy, all the more surprising because of his knowledge of English history.

In February 1904, Japan declared war on Russia, and six weeks later Sun sailed from Honolulu to San Francisco. It was probably during these six weeks that Sun published an important pamphlet, *The True Solution of the Chinese Question*.

The pamphlet began with a short and decidedly biased comparison between an enlightened and happy China before the Manchu dynasty, and an enslaved and benighted China after the Manchus seized the throne. Then came a list of Ten Wrongs suffered under Manchu rule. The number ten is important in China because it is twice five, and five has almost mystical significance; the Chinese reckon five planets (Jupiter, Mars, Saturn, Venus and Mercury), five elements (wood, water, fire, metal and earth), five directions of space (east, south, centre, west and north), five colours, five tastes, five holy mountains, five cardinal virtues, and so on through a wide variety of subjects. When Sun Yat-sen could do so without manifest distortion, he liked to make up his numbered records or arguments to the total of five or its double ten. So he listed Ten Wrongs.

Prosaic critics object to this list and point out that most of the evils existed before the Manchu dynasty, but Sun's essential point—that the Manchu government of the year 1904 was corrupt and that China suffered from their misrule—cannot be gainsaid.

Then comes an analysis of the three types of supporters on whom Sun depended, and it shows he was far from being the blind conspirator and “unstable idealist” some believed; he knew the sorts of men with whom he was dealing:

“Those Chinese who favour revolutionary ideas may be roughly divided into three classes. The first class, the most numerous of the three, comprises those persons who cannot even obtain a bare livelihood because of the extortions and exactions of the officials. To the second belong all those who are provoked by racial prejudice against the Manchus, while to the third class belong those who are inspired by noble thoughts and high ideas. These three factors, co-operating together in different directions, with increasing force and velocity, will ultimately produce the desired result. It is evident therefore that the downfall of the Manchu government is but a question of time. . . .”

The real importance of *The True Solution of the Chinese Question* is that it lifted the revolutionary movement from the level of secret society conspiracy to an open political programme:

“Therefore we, the Chinese People, have resolved to adopt pacific measures if possible and violent ones if necessary in order to be treated with justice and to establish peace in the Far East and throughout the world. . . .”

What a programme! Here was the exile, Sun Yat-sen, with the backing of half-starved malcontents in China, a few agitators with “racial prejudice” and still fewer who shared his own idealism, setting out to overthrow a dynasty that had reigned over China for 260 years, and all with the big objective of obtaining justice in China and the still larger one of establishing peace in the Far East and throughout the world.

It was commonly supposed in 1904 that the Russo-Japanese war would clear the air in the Far East, and perhaps no-one but Sun saw that “the war raises more difficulties than it solves”. Seven years later J. Ellis Barker confirmed Sun's opinion. “I think there can be no doubt,” he wrote in *The Fortnightly Review*, “that a reform of China . . . would tend to diminish the dangers of war threatening Europe and America.” Barker pointed out that but for China's weakness, under the decadent Manchus, there would have been no Russo-Japanese war and that the same weakness had caused already “dangerous friction” between Russia and England,

between France and England, between Germany and England and between The United States and Japan.

Sun's *True Solution of the Chinese Question* was sound and it was no wild exaggeration to link the stability of China with the wider issue of world peace. It is notable, too, that he still had hopes of success by "peaceful measures". The curse of violence, in war or revolution, is not the suffering of its victims, for although man is a frail creature he has almost unbounded capacity to endure; but the way violence breeds. The leader who employs it, even in a noble undertaking, has the children of violence for ever clamouring at his door seeking employment. Sun had been living cheek-by-jowl with violence for years but he had not acquired a love of violence. He was resolved "to adopt peaceful measures if possible".

Sun expected an early success. "China is now on the eve of a great national movement," he wrote in this pamphlet; "our task is great but it will not be an impossible one. . . ." He claimed that carefully-thought-out plans had been drawn up for the new republican government to carry on as soon as the Manchus were overthrown and that well-educated and able men were ready to rule in their place.

In this first published programme, *The True Solution of the Chinese Question*, Sun Yat-sen showed his genius for seeing a long way into the future. He saw clearly what was needed and even the course events were likely to take but, like so many Chinese, he was over-hopeful. His own tireless enthusiasm prevented him from reckoning with the inertia of the masses of people, and his selflessness blinded him to the self-interest that mocks so many patriotic intentions. As the years slipped by, repeated failures and disappointment wore down Sun's optimism without changing his determination and he was, perhaps, never more confident of success than in 1904.

Sun spent a year in the United States, arriving in the spring of 1904 and leaving for Europe early in 1905. Oddly enough he was followed, both on arrival and on departure, by two prominent Chinese; one a Manchu prince representing the accredited government of China, the other the noted reformer Kang Yu-wei. Kang was still banished by the Manchus, with a price on his head, but he would have nothing to do with Sun's revolutionary plans. These three—the prince, Kang and Sun—represented the three factions in Chinese politics—rulers, reformers and revolutionists. The prince and Kang were both acclaimed widely in America and, on suitable occasions, were re-

ceived by President Theodore Roosevelt. Sun's visit was not without official notice but was unostentatious and practical.

His arrival coincided with that of the Manchu prince, who came to represent China at the St. Louis Exposition, and on this account Sun was detained three weeks by the immigration authorities on the pretence of some irregularities in his passport papers. The authorities cannot be blamed for their caution but the American press of those days was not much better than it is now, and it was viciously reported in one paper that Sun might try to assassinate the Manchu prince. Assassination was all too common in oriental politics but Sun Yat-sen never advocated such methods for getting rid of an enemy.

The same newspaper said of Sun, "he travels extensively in first-class style", but the truth is no public man, with funds at his disposal, ever travelled more simply. The records of those who met him on his travels speak of frugal ways and a habit of putting up at cheap hotels or staying quietly with friends. Sun collected at one time and another large sums of money for the revolutionary cause, but even the most unscrupulous of his enemies could produce no evidence that any part of these funds was used for luxurious personal living.

It would be unnecessary to mention the unfounded American press reports if they had not been quoted in biographies, and if the Chinese Consul-General in San Francisco had not issued a warning against Sun which appeared in the press:

"There is a revolutionary leader in our midst, who is arousing people by his false statements. The educated element can easily understand that his aim is to collect money, which he will afterwards squander, and I fear the ignorant people will become his victims. As the chief—the general Consul here—it is my duty to protect them. I advise the elder people, who will not be turned by his false utterances, to caution their younger brothers and sons to beware of this man. He will squander your money and get you in trouble."⁸⁰

That the Consul-General of the Manchu government should attack Sun was inevitable, but the reasons for any American prejudice at this time are not so clear. It has been suggested the attacks may have been instigated by the Chinese monarchist reform party in America who were preparing to give a great welcome to Kang and who feared Sun might steal some of their champion's thunder.

While in America Sun met two friends of his Hongkong days, Tong Phong who was baptized with him and who now ran a store

in New York; and Dr. Charles Hager. Hager saw Sun in San Francisco and, in recollection of their talks together in Hongkong, suggested that the reforms Sun so strongly advocated in his student days were now being carried out by the Manchu government. But Sun did not trust the Manchus and knew their promises of reform would come to very little, so he merely repeated his conviction that the Manchus must go. Later in the same year Hager, attending a service at the First Chinese Church in New York, found Sun there: "He had lost much of the vivacity of his youth, and seemed careworn and oppressed with anxiety, but he was still loyal to the Christian faith." Hager was seeking funds for a church in Hongkong and Sun put him in touch with a possible contributor.

That Sun seemed careworn is not surprising, for he did not spare himself. He was befriended by the Chinese pastor of the New York mission who, in his *Reminiscences*, gives a vivid impression of the indefatigable leader:

"... Dr. Sun could hold his audiences spellbound for hours at a time, whether they numbered by the hundreds and thousands or only a handful. He was at his best when in the quiet of the night, with a small group of followers gathered about the lamplight, as often happened in the back-rooms of the little laundries in New York City, he spoke to them about the military reverses and diplomatic failures of China and expounded his programme for the liberation and self-rule of the Chinese people. He often appeared weary and worn in body, but always enthusiastic for his cause and never downhearted."²¹

At the large meetings when Sun took the stage and spoke for hours, he spoke so fluently, that the pictures of a better China, which he carried always in his own mind, appeared, as on a screen, for his audience to see and to desire.

Amongst the Chinese Christians in America were progressive men and Sun's intercourse with them was important. He met students from Yale and Columbia universities, one of whom later became a famous jurist. With these men Sun talked politics and the best form of constitution for China, weighing their notions and experiences with what he learned from his nocturnal discussions with laundrymen, small shopkeepers, gardeners and common labourers; for Sun, unlike the reformer Kang, deliberately sought the humblest folk and was as keen to convince a laundryworker as a scholar. Sun made good use of his contacts with men of intellectual ability but he never forgot the world is made for ordinary people. We know he was influenced greatly by Abraham Lincoln's oration at Gettys-

burg; he may also have known Lincoln's observation that God must like the common people because He made so many of them.

The Chinese who settled in America brought with them their habit of secret societies and Sun estimated that eighty per cent of the Chinese in America in 1904 belonged to a lodge or branch of some such society. Originally anti-Manchu the members had to a large extent forgotten the cause that brought them together and were now concerned chiefly with the ritual of their meetings and with schemes for mutual aid and benefit. They seldom discussed Chinese politics and, indeed, had no sense of nationalism; thinking of China in terms of the local affairs of the village from which they came. Sun broke the placid routine of these lodges, reminding the members of their former anti-Manchu aims and appealing to them to help their country in its present distress. The societies were ready-assembled audiences for him to address and from their members he obtained funds and adherents for The Progressive Chinese Society.

During this visit to The United States Sun went to St. Louis where, shortly before, the Manchu prince had been fêted. He saw the exposition and, we may be sure, studied eagerly everything there relating to the scientific developments of the age. In the spring of 1905 Sun Yat-sen left New York on a second visit to Europe and he was soon followed by the reformer Kang Yu-wei.

Kang had been busy expounding his reforms for China to the wealthy and better educated Chinese in the large cities of America and he also made an impression on many Americans. He was attended by a curious American named Homer Lea. Lea had great admiration for the Chinese people and, being military-minded, went so far as to organise San Francisco Chinese into a cadet corps known as The Reform Cadets. These cadets underwent military training, including the handling of small arms and became so active that the agents of the Manchus tried unsuccessfully to get the American authorities to ban the movement.

It is strange that Kang, who objected to Sun's revolutionary policy and preached reform by peaceful means, should have encouraged Homer Lea and his cadets, for there was no possible sense in their training if they were not to be used as soldiers in China. When Kang arrived at Philadelphia he was escorted by two companies of Reform Cadets in uniform with a military band; and the local press, describing the parade past Independence Hall and the reception in Race Street, reported that Kang was accompanied by "Lieutenant-General Homer Lea, his military adviser".

So the pacific reformer Kang had the backing of the military Chinese in America and with fife and drum drew all the Chinese colony in Philadelphia to his mass-meeting, while the militant Sun Yat-sen with no soldierly support left America almost unnoticed. But Sun's year in America with its innumerable contacts with working Chinese took him a long way further in thinking out the details of his programme for The Three Principles of the People.

THREE PRINCIPLES OF THE PEOPLE

On this second trip to Europe Sun almost certainly went first to see the Cantlies in London. There is no record of the visit, but it is evident from Dr. Cantlie's writings and from Mrs. Cantlie's diary that Sun never missed an opportunity to call at 46 Devonshire Street when he was in England.

It was sixteen years since the young student, Mr. Sun Yat-sen, accompanied Dr. and Mrs. Cantlie on their visits to leper colonies and there was now such intimacy between them that Sun confided to the Cantlies details of his revolutionary plans which he does not seem to have mentioned to anyone else. It was a good safety-valve to talk to these trustworthy English friends, who knew something of Chinese life, respected and admired the Chinese people and, yet, who had no present concern in Chinese affairs.

During the first years of the new century an increasing number of young Chinese obtained grants from the Manchu government to study abroad. By far the largest number went to Japan, but whereas Sun found no students in Europe in 1896 he now found a few in England, Germany, France and Belgium.

To a gathering of students in Brussels in the year 1905 Sun made his first public speech on *The Three Principles of the People*. Now, after almost forty years, The Three Principles are the political blueprint of one-fifth of the whole human race and many millions of Chinese are familiar with the policy outlined by the little revolutionist doctor on that Brussels platform. It will be necessary later to look more closely at the details of The Three Principles in the final form laid down by Sun Yat-sen. Now we need only consider how Sun came to formulate the policy and its general shape.

Sun had long since made up his mind that if China was to survive as an independent country (and some of her independence was lost already) the corrupt Manchu government must go. He rejected the

schemes of the reform party for another monarchy and was convinced China must not only catch up with the material progress of the West, as Japan had done, but must also tackle the bigger problem of social security—the problem that each year loomed more menacingly in Europe and America, aggravated by every fresh discovery of science.

A new form of government was needed in China before the larger problem could be approached and Sun was uncompromisingly in favour of a republic. His friends the Cantlies, talking over this issue with him, demurred, pointing out that England was a monarchy and that England was, perhaps, the best governed country in the world; but they had sufficient respect for Sun's brains and, perhaps, sufficient pride in the uniqueness of England to accept his view that in this matter he was right. But monarchy or republic, the paramount need of China was to gain a sense of nationhood.

The vastness of China and her centuries of orderly community life had given the Chinese people the conception of themselves as "the middle kingdom" surrounded, it is true, by other peoples who could be regarded as more or less barbarians. Within the Empire an elaborate system had grown up of rule by family groups and guilds and village communities but there was little or no sense of nationhood. Any call for action from The Son of Heaven in Peking passed through so many viceroys, governors, mandarins and officials before it reached the village elders, and then the heads of families, that the individual could hardly have any feeling of loyalty to the remote Emperor, though he might fear the power officials exercised in the name of royalty.

This, then, was the first need—that China should become aware of her nationhood and Sun's first principle is The Racial Solidarity of the People. Sun was, however, aware that some countries suffer from an excess of the quality he recommended and he warned his listeners that racial solidarity "must not be confused with the attitude of xenophobia". It is common, for the sake of brevity, to translate Sun's expression with the English word "Nationalism", but it is even more important now than it was in 1905 to realise the exceptional conditions of Chinese life that made Racial Solidarity a first requisite to settled government in China and to withstand the disintegrating effects of impact with Western civilisation.

The very fact that the Chinese lacked a sense of nationhood gave their system of government a considerable degree of true democratic control. The practical authority of the village elders was

considerable and the village elders were elected by the people. There were other ways, too, in which the people could and did exercise a mandate. As the Manchu dynasty was flickering out, and while The Old Buddha controlled some events and was controlled by others, the voice of the people faded to angry mutterings, but in the more happy periods of Chinese history the democratic spirit had wide play. Readers of Mencius must have been struck often at the sharp rebukes administered by the sage to rulers who forgot that The Son of Heaven had his duties towards the children of men. So democracy is no alien idea to the Chinese and Sun was proposing nothing very revolutionary in his second principle, which is The Governmental Authority of the People. For convenience it is translated usually as "Democracy" but, again, it must be remembered that the particular form of democracy is to be related to the Chinese system of life.

It is not irrelevant to observe that present-day writers on English politics are concerned often at the lack of interest in such democratic affairs as municipal and county council elections: while the comparison must be made with many reservations, it is probably true that the Chinese system of community life has been for centuries at least as virile as our own in democratic control of local affairs.

Sun's third principle is The Social Welfare of the People. It is concerned with the economic life of the nation and has been interpreted with wide variations by writers according to their preconceived political views. Sun's term has been translated "The People's Socialism", but it is necessary to suspend judgment until we come to a brief examination of Sun's detailed programme and then to remember the fundamental difference between the economic structure of China and, say, England or America.

These, then, were The Three Principles of the People first expounded by Sun at Brussels but evolved from many private conversations and discussions with foreign friends and countrymen in China, Japan, Honolulu, America, England and elsewhere. Behind them was the direct inspiration, as Sun has told us, of the Gettysburg oration.

When first Sun read the noble words of Lincoln, "that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom", he felt their applicability to his beloved China. That was what China needed above all else—a new birth of freedom: that was what he, Sun Yat-sen, lived for, with his ceaseless toil and homeless wandering, his never-ending efforts to teach and inspire duller men. The rest of Lincoln's

sentence, "and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth", was the clue and it ran through Sun's head for many a day till he had worked out an application suitable to the needs of China.

From this Brussels meeting thirty students joined The Progressive Chinese Society; other branches were established in Paris and Berlin.

There is an amusing and instructive story of this campaign amongst the students in Europe. Two young Chinese, who were receiving pay from the Chinese government to maintain them while studying, joined Sun's society. A fellow student, who was a Manchu, pointed out they would get into serious trouble if Peking heard of their revolutionary connection and they would certainly receive no more pay. This so alarmed the young men that they decided to recant and, if possible, make amends for their sin against Peking. They went to Sun's lodgings when he was out and stole the register of members of The Progressive Chinese Society and with this valued prize went to the representative of the Manchu government in Paris. On their knees they confessed to the minister, offering him the secret book if he could save them from the severe consequences of their treasonable crime. Apparently the minister himself was not too well satisfied with his Manchu masters and was sufficiently impressed by Sun to have no wish to thwart his activities; so he ordered the students to return the stolen book immediately. He scared the culprits by saying the French police would be after them for theft and that he, himself, would cut off their pay if they did not at once return the book to Sun. The bewildered young men went to Sun, knelt before him and confessed, asking his forgiveness. Membership of secret societies in China is always taken very seriously and as a rule definite and very disagreeable penalties are laid down for any member guilty of betrayal. Sun was noted for his obstinate insistence on an oath of allegiance in his societies, so that it is the more remarkable that he forgave these two young students readily. But then, he was also noted for his forgiving disposition.

Hitherto Sun's converts included only a few of the student class, but with the concentration of his propaganda on The Three Principles of the People he attracted many more and in so doing somewhat cut the ground from under Kang and the other monarchist reformers.

Thirty-five years after this Brussels meeting when Sun persuaded thirty young students to support The Three Principles, Dr. Y. G. Chen, President of the University of Nanking and a member of

The People's Political Council which, under war conditions, is the direct link between the people and the government of China, wrote of The Three Principles, "these principles apply not only to China but to the whole world".⁸²

THE LEAGUE OF SWORN BROTHERS

After Sun's fairly successful tour in Europe he returned to Japan by way of the Suez Canal and Singapore. Even in 1905 British Malaya was largely a Chinese colony; the Malays inhabiting the villages, the few British administering the territory and the Chinese possessing it. Three quarters of the inhabitants of the tidy little towns of the park-like Straits Settlements came from the Celestial Empire and Sun found them receptive and generous in contributions for the cause. He established more branches of The Progressive Chinese Society and some of these were not amongst laundrymen and gardeners nor amongst students, but counted in their membership wealthy merchants and traders.

By the time Sun got back to his headquarters in Japan he could reflect with satisfaction on the organisation built up. Not only was it considerable in foreign lands: there were in China itself more than forty branches each with over a thousand members, all pledged to active participation in any uprising in their neighbourhood. Great precautions were taken, the members using secret signs such as lifting a tea-cup with the thumb and two fingers, pausing on the threshold when entering a house and then advancing the left foot first, sitting with the toes turned in, placing an umbrella on the sill of a window and speaking in a secret slang language. The places of meetings were changed frequently, no letters were sent and all communications were by word of mouth. Members were bound by strict pledges to keep secret all doings of the society and once a man joined the society it was dangerous for him to withdraw. All through this period Charles Jones Soong worked faithfully with Sun and it is possible Sun visited him in Shanghai on the way back to Japan.

The effect of Japan's victory over Russia was far-reaching. It showed China that an oriental people, who had but recently emerged from long isolation, could, by copying western ways, beat a western nation. The prestige of Japan was increased everywhere and "the shrimp people" were acclaimed as a rising power in the world. Here was a lesson that China could not fail to learn and many Chinese

were almost as enthusiastic over Japan's victory as if it had been a victory for China! In the words of Sun Yat-sen, Japan's success "has raised the standing of all Asiatic peoples".

The student quarter of Tokyo was now congested with eager and patriotic Chinese, most of them quite young, and in their midst were many exiles driven from China by the Manchus on account of revolutionary or reforming activities.

Amongst these exiles was a man named Huang Hsing who led an abortive rising in China while Sun was in America. Huang was thirty years old and had been educated at a Chinese school where the teaching was on western lines. With him was a fellow-student named Sung Chiao-jen. Huang had some knowledge of military matters and was a soldier by disposition while Sung was more concerned with politics. Huang and Sung now joined with Sun Yat-sen. Both were to play major parts in the revolutionary movement, giving their lives to the cause.

A big meeting of Chinese students in Japan was held in Tokyo, in September 1905, when Sun Yat-sen proposed the formation of a new united party of all the revolutionary elements. Amidst great enthusiasm the new party was named The Revolutionary Covenanters but, in order to avoid unnecessary opposition from the Japanese government, the word "revolutionary" was usually omitted and the name shortened to *Tung Meng Hui*, which means The League of Sworn Brothers.

Sun was considerably older than the majority of the members and completely dominated the league. He was elected president, with Huang as vice-president. In this union were the seeds of discord and it has been said its organisation would have been unworkable but for the "overpowering personality" of Sun. The various sections that made up the united society included The Progressive Chinese Party and societies with influence in other provinces than Kwangtung. All were united in a determination to overthrow the Manchu dynasty, but some were intellectuals who dreamed of a return to the Ming or an entirely new Chinese dynasty in which the old-style scholar class would be predominant. Others derived their support mainly from the uneducated masses with no clear convictions beyond a discontent with their lot. Those already under the influence of Sun aimed at solving the social security problem embodied in the third of The Three Principles of the People, but those who followed Huang and Sung were concerned only with political as distinct from social problems. One of the senior mem-

bers, who was only a year younger than Sun, was Lin Sen, a man of marked scholarship who, when he died in 1943, was the greatly respected President of China. Lin Sen served the revolutionary cause in various ways and for The League of Sworn Brothers organised "underground" newspapers.

A Chinese authority sums up the situation in the words, "All Sun's ideas, however, were still in process of formation. Nor were they, even in their broad outlines, generally accepted, far less understood by his followers. But while they were struggling against the Manchus this was of little importance."⁸³ All agreed with the first of The Three Principles, the rest was merely of academic interest to the leaders and a vague aspiration to the masses.

The members of the league, as the name implies, had to take an oath. The society was, after all, a typical Chinese secret society and Sun's relish for loyalty oaths was not unreasonable. One Manchu spy, working through the customs department, "by expressing his loyalty to the Chinese revolution", obtained information which led eventually to the arrest and execution of one of the leaders in China and there must have been many such leakages. The oath ran:

"I swear under Heaven that I will do my utmost to work for the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty, the establishment of the Republic and the solution of the agrarian question on the basis of the equitable redistribution of the land. I solemnly undertake to be faithful to these principles. If I ever betray my trust I am willing to submit to the severest penalties imaginable."⁸⁴

"The severest penalties imaginable" were specified in case any candidate for membership lacked imagination or took the phrase lightly. Treason or betrayal was punishable with death. In spite of the oath and its penalties, and in spite of the risk of being caught by the Manchus, some four hundred young men joined at the first meeting in Tokyo and it was not long before branches were established in every province of China except remote Kansu.

Every member was given a number and thereafter was known only by his number, none but the branch organiser knowing his name. Headquarters received reports from the branches and knew only the names of important members who might be used for special missions. The branches established within China were especially careful whom they enrolled, for their work was intended to be active when the time came. How they dealt with doubtful members is not known but it is worth recalling that the earlier anti-Manchu societies

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put their candidates for membership through a searching test, including 333 questions relating to the objects and rules of the organisation. After that candidates were asked if they were willing to proceed with initiation and any who refused had their heads cut off!

The overseas branches of The League of Sworn Brothers could afford to be less exclusive, as their purpose was to collect money and distribute propaganda.

One of the most popular forms of propaganda in China is by dramatic performances. The Chinese love plays and simple plays are a common feature of village life. The secret societies have always used plays as a means of arousing public interest in their aims and the Covenanters working in China aroused indignation with the Manchu government by performances in the open air or in village tea-houses. Many of these were subtle in spite of their impromptu nature.

Six aims were specified in the first manifesto issued by the league:

1. To overthrow the corrupt Manchu dynasty.
2. To establish The Chinese Republic.
3. To conserve world peace.
4. To effect the equitable redistribution of land.
5. To favour co-operation between China and Japan.
6. To ask all countries to support reconstruction in China.

It was well recognised by the founders and first members of the society that they were not going to achieve these aims either cheaply or quickly. All were willing to give their lives in payment and Sun said later, "I must confess that I did not dream of the accomplishment of the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty still in my lifetime". Such a long-range programme is more understandable in China, where men are patient, than in the West.

It has been pointed out already how reasonable it was in the early years of the twentieth century to associate Chinese stability with world peace, which is what the Covenanters meant by their third aim.

Some members faltered over the "equitable redistribution of land" but, as the Chinese are essentially a farming people and therefore think more of "the good earth" than does an industrial nation and as the mal-distribution of land resulted in terrible overcrowding in some districts, it was fairly obvious that the land "problem" would have to be tackled some time. This fourth aim was by now a firm point with Sun and can be traced to his study of Henry George and his childhood memories of life in Choyhung.

The co-operation between China and Japan seemed especially

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desirable to students who had come to Japan to learn how that little country had been so successful in modernisation. None of the peace-loving Chinese supposed, for one moment, the ancient military spirit of Japan would be so revived as to control the affairs of Japan; nor that the process of modernisation would be accelerated till the "shrimp people" dominated the Far East, even to the point of turning against the China from whom Japan had long ago learned so much. In 1905 China was the pupil of her little neighbour and it seemed obvious for the two yellow races to co-operate. Indeed this seemed so obvious that there were those amongst the white races who, ignorant of the fundamental differences between Chinese and Japanese, imagined a "yellow peril"!

The last of the declared aims of the league, to ask all countries to support reconstruction in China, was a little naïve. The Manchu government had just signed with Japan The Treaty of Peking, agreeing to those terms of the treaty between Japan and Russia which affected China. Secret protocols, made known to Britain and the United States in 1906, prevented the construction by China of railways to parts of the Manchurian provinces of China. It was altogether too much to expect governments who accepted this sort of double-crossing diplomacy to go out of their way to support reconstruction in China. The only interest any foreign government had in China's reconstruction was a self-interest. There were many anxious to supply China with railway equipment, machinery and armaments, but the fact that the goods supplied were sometimes obsolete is a fair indication of how little the true interests of China were considered.

It is important to stress this early belief of Sun Yat-sen in the benevolent intentions of other nations. His contacts with altruistic missionaries, his Christian faith and the generally accepted notion of those times that England and other western nations were "Christian" nations led him to be over-expectant. When, later, Sun was disillusioned on this point the reaction was correspondingly vigorous.

One of the first moves of the league was to establish an official magazine, the *Min Pao* (The People's Journal), which carried revolutionary propaganda to the educated Chinese far and wide. Its editorial board consisted of able men, including the reformer Liang Chi-chao who has been described as "the most brilliant writer of his day".⁸⁵ Liang, who had hitherto opposed Sun's republican ideas, now came to agree with him that the Manchus must go. His articles

for The People's Journal had a profound influence on students. Another of the editors of The People's Journal was Wang Ching-wei, who first met Sun in America and, later, became one of his closest and most able supporters.

The People's Journal did much to bring into the movement a larger proportion of intellectuals but it is an exaggeration to suggest, as has been done, that before this the revolutionary movement was confined to the "lower classes".

Two thousand copies of each issue of The People's Journal were circulated amongst the students in Japan and another thousand went direct into China. Passed from hand to hand, the paper soon attracted the attention of the Manchu authorities and it became risky to have any part in its circulation. Nevertheless the demand was so great that copies published at twenty cents were sold sometimes for two dollars. Only important articles were printed and these were often reprinted as broadsheets, both in China and abroad.

Although Sun was the dominant leader of the league the organisation was run on quite democratic lines and his part in the editing and production of The People's Journal does not seem to have been very great. Nevertheless the policy advocated by the Journal was Sun's policy and undoubtedly his flair for effective propaganda contributed much to its great influence.

By modern standards a circulation of three thousand copies seems trivial, but, it must be remembered, the people who could read in China were then but a small proportion of the whole population and, because there were few newspapers, each copy had many readers. Almost every student who returned to China was infected by this revolutionary writing. They went to all parts of China and, because of their western learning, were listened to with respect. Many became teachers in educational institutions, which gave them excellent opportunities to spread their doctrine and not a few, returning from the military academies of Japan, became officers in the Chinese army which they gradually imbued with revolutionary teachings.

"After the creation of The League of Sworn Brothers," wrote Sun, "I began to believe that a new era of the Chinese revolution was opening before us. . . . I became convinced that the great cause of the Chinese Revolution would be accomplished during my lifetime."

Financial support for the league came, to a large extent, from the rich merchant members of the branches in such countries as Hawaii, Malaya and America, but the poorest members in these

countries contributed something. The government students in Japan paid three dollars a month or about ten per cent of their income. Private students who were not so well off paid less. There was something comic in this situation: the Manchu government paid for students to go abroad to learn western ways and, with a somewhat eastern interpretation of loyalty, these students paid ten per cent of the allowance made to them by the Manchu government to a society whose first aim was to destroy the Manchu government! Wang Ching-wei did much to raise funds, for he was a popular young man with the unfailing courtesy which can achieve so much in China. He was known in Singapore and Penang and brought from those places a reputation for sincerity and honesty.

Very considerable sums came from ordinary men who were persuaded by Sun's eloquence at his public meetings during his travels. One was the owner of a curio shop in Paris who promised any reasonable contribution when it should be needed: he was now reminded by cable and asked to send what he could spare. He sold his entire business and sent the proceeds amounting to sixty thousand dollars. After a meeting in Philadelphia a laundryman called at Sun's hotel and thrust into his hands a linen bag; it contained the whole of his savings for twenty years. A bean-seller in China insisted on giving four thousand pounds, saying, "others are risking and sacrificing their lives. The giving away of my property is nothing compared with what others are doing for the sake of the people."⁸⁶

Sun was touched by such generous support and wrote, "All over the world and particularly in America the legend has grown up that the Chinese are selfish and mercenary. There never was a greater libel on a people. Many have given me their whole fortune." The Chinese have a proverb: "Making money is like digging with a needle; spending it is like water soaking into sand", yet wherever Sun went his countrymen trusted him with their money, asking only that it be spent on the revolution "for the sake of the people".

Fifteen months after the founding of The League of Sworn Brothers, on the first anniversary of The People's Journal, Sun Yat-sen made a speech to over five thousand members. He expounded The Three Principles of the People, not in their final form, because his ideas had not yet crystallized, but there are points in his speech worth quoting:

"The Racial Solidarity of the People is based on the fundamental idea that a people must not permit a foreign race to rob them of their political in-

dependence . . . although we Chinese have a country it is no longer ours . . . we must overthrow the power of the Manchus and re-establish our national integrity . . . but we have no hate against the Manchus as such. It is not enough to be actuated by the spirit of narrow patriotism. . . . The Political revolution should aim at a constitutional democracy. Therefore, in the present position of the country, even if the Emperor were Chinese, we should not hesitate to make the revolution. . . . Our country must not be considered as the property of any private individual. Moreover, at present foreigners are preying on China. More than ever is the establishment of a strong government necessary and this can only be the government of the whole people. . . . Commensurate with the growth of the economic power of the Western countries, is the growth of the misery of the people. In England, for instance, there are a few rich, but many poor people. This is because the human elements cannot resist the capitalistic forces. . . . One cannot oppose the evolution of society. Industrial civilisation has advantages and inconveniences, but the rich in Europe and America have monopolised the former, leaving to the poor the latter. Such a social condition is tending to develop in China, but if we know how to act preventatively, the struggle against capitalism will be easier than in the West. . . . We want the national revolution of independence because we don't want any one person to monopolise all political power. We want the social revolution because we don't want a handful of rich people to monopolise the whole wealth of the country. Failure in any one of these three aims means the failure of our mission. Only when all three aims are attained can the Chinese be proud of their country."

So much for The Three Principles. Sun also outlined what he later called The Fivefold Constitution. He told his audience that China should not imitate exactly the constitution of any other country.

In due course we shall have to consider briefly the final form of The Fivefold Constitution, but there is still a further point from this speech which must be noted. Sun realised that a new form of government on democratic lines could not be established overnight; it would take time and during that time some temporary stages must be gone through. He proposed first a military government, until the disorders incidental to an armed rising had been settled, then an "educative" government, during the time when the people were learning their duties as citizens; and finally a constitutional government.

At the beginning of 1907 this speech might have been condemned by the average Englishman because of its suggestion that capitalism was not an unqualified success, but today the most conservative capitalist would hardly quarrel with the essential points of the programme—at least for a country so far away as China!

The Chinese who listened approved and Sun in his *Memoirs of a Chinese Revolutionary* was able to say, "Scarcely a year has passed

before ten thousand people joined our Society. . . . from this time forward the revolutionary movement went ahead with great strides. Its further development exceeded all my anticipations!"

THE TEN FAILURES

In after years Sun made a list of his unsuccessful attempts with armed risings, from the first abortive one at Canton in 1895 to the success of 1911, and adds them up to the attractive total of ten. The records of details of these risings are a little confused but the essential point is that about ten such attempts were organised by Sun, while at the same time there were other spontaneous risings against the Manchus due to various causes of a more or less local character. It is clear, too, that while Sun made use of colleagues like Huang Hsing, who had the advantage of training at a Japanese military college, he took a very active part himself in spite of the big price on his head and the various bans placed on him in "neutral" areas like Hongkong. He was often in China and took full advantage of the shelter of the foreign settlements.

One of his supporters was a young Hawaiian-born Chinese, named Chang Chau, who early enrolled in Sun's Progressive Chinese Society. Sun took a fancy to this lad and said, "I receive you as a sworn brother, you must come when I call you". Some years later Sun sent for Chang who left Honolulu at once and reported at Headquarters in Yokohama. He found awaiting him instructions to go to Hongkong and from there was directed to Canton. The rank and file of the revolutionists were assembled at various places in and around the City of Rams, but only the leaders met at Headquarters. Chang was taken to headquarters and there found Sun Yat-sen, whom he was to serve as a personal *aide de camp*. He went wherever Sun went, sleeping in the same room and sometimes in the same bed.

On this occasion a steamer from Hongkong had been chartered to bring to Canton three thousand armed revolutionists, trained not only to fight but to control the civil population during the rising. Sun and a body of picked men intended to attack the *yamên* which they expected to capture easily. In addition seven hundred coolies had been employed to act as carriers. The coolies knew nothing of the plan and were ordered simply to come to Canton, as steerage passengers, where they would be met and given further instructions. Steerage accommodation between Hongkong and Canton was

always crowded and the presence of so many coolies was unlikely to arouse comment.

At the Canton headquarters all incriminating papers were burnt and Sun awaited only the steamer with his three thousand warriors. Then came a telegram saying the steamer had been detained, whether by suspicious British officials or not has never been disclosed. This upset the whole plan and Sun could do nothing but telegraph Hongkong to cancel the coolie party. Unluckily his message was misunderstood and the coolies arrived in Canton with no-one to meet them. The plan of action had been kept so well that the Manchu viceroy had no suspicions, but when word reached him that seven hundred coolies were wandering round the city and unable to explain what they had come for, he rounded them up and executed some by way of example.

Sun ordered his picked men to scatter, for now that the authorities were alarmed a closer watch was kept. Sixteen of Sun's men were caught and beheaded. Meanwhile Sun and Chang slipped away through the network of narrow streets in old Canton and reached the water-front. There were still five hundred revolutionists assembled in a Christian church across the river, for the Chinese pastor and his congregation were all revolutionists. Sun had to reach them and warn them to disperse. He and Chang, boarding a small river boat, paid the boatwomen to supply them with women's clothes and then to row across the river to a landing place near the church. In midstream they effected their disguise and it was apparently two very ordinary boatwomen who landed and walked to the church. Neither Sun nor Chang had queues and in their male attire would be doomed if caught, for at that time none but a few revolutionary leaders had cut off their queues. The boatwomen wore dark blue cotton bonnets and dark blue blouses and trousers, so that the disguise suited the two men admirably. Sometimes Sun carried a false queue which he could attach under a skull cap if need be, but he does not seem to have had it with him on this occasion. Having warned their five hundred waiting comrades, Sun and Chang joined a group of women in the steerage of a boat for Hongkong and so escaped. They hid in Hongkong a few days and then Sun sailed to Singapore and Chang to Honolulu.

After this failure some of Sun's closest friends advised him to give up all further attempts, but like so many other great leaders Sun had endless patience and an iron spirit of determination. He returned to his headquarters in Japan.

Early in 1906 an American judge named Paul Linebarger, serving in the Philippine Islands, was attracted to the Chinese revolutionary cause by the devoted action of his Cantonese cook. This cook applied for leave of absence and when pressed for a reason explained he belonged to Sun's secret organisation and had been summoned to China. He was given leave and remained away for several months. When he returned he was badly crippled. He had been caught by the Manchus and so badly mauled that he was left for dead. He recovered sufficiently to escape and, with typical Chinese doggedness, returned to his former occupation.

Linebarger was so impressed by this man's devotion to Sun that he was anxious to meet his cook's hero and soon after a meeting was arranged in Manila, where it is probable Sun was collecting funds.

From that day Judge Linebarger became a close friend of Sun Yat-sen and although his record of friendship is coloured rather too vividly, and is uncritical, it is of considerable value in giving us direct impressions. Linebarger was only one of a number of Westerners favourably impressed by Sun's personality and, like Cantlie, he was ready to do almost anything for his Chinese friend. The devotion of his cook is likewise typical of the support given to Sun by countless Chinese in humble circumstances.

Although the progress of The League of Sworn Brothers exceeded Sun's anticipations and foreshadowed the success of 1911, there was to be no easy triumph by infiltration methods. The speech made by Sun on the anniversary of The People's Journal brought him banishment from Japan. Japan had obtained a good deal from the Manchu government by the Treaty of Peking and it was a small thing in return to outlaw the chief enemy of the Manchus. So, in response to urgent representations from Peking, Sun was told to go. He had to leave Headquarters and the direction of The People's Journal to younger and less experienced men and once again pack his bag for another journey. This time he went to Hanoi in French Indo-China and took with him Wang Ching-wei.

The friendly action of de Morant, the French judge in Shanghai, in issuing Sun a travel permit in 1903 was not the only gesture from French officials. Once when Sun was in Shanghai a French army officer called on him offering the services of French experts. Just as de Morant appreciated Sun's call for liberty, equality and fraternity, and knew the corruptness of the Manchu government, so, we may suppose, these French army men were moved to do something

for the revolutionists. Sun used eight retired French officers, distributing them in South China and in the Yangtze basin. They advised on suitable weapons and trained Chinese to become revolutionary soldiers.

Sun had great hopes of substantial help from his French friends and decided to make his next attack an invasion from French territory instead of an insurrection within China. While his preparations were going ahead in French Indo-China a popular revolt against taxes levied by the Manchus took place across the border in the sparsely inhabited regions of south-west China.

Sun was always quick to seize an opportunity and, indeed, owed most of his military failures to over-eagerness in support of some such movement outside his control. Before his own preparations were adequate he hastened to take advantage of this tax revolt. It is, perhaps, a national characteristic of the Chinese to be over-optimistic and, like the English, to rely on a happy ending. Sun Yat-sen habitually looked far into the future and in so doing was not over-confident: time and again he spoke as though it would take many years to overthrow the Manchus. But when he shortened his gaze and looked at the task at hand he was apt to be altogether too hopeful. Now, seeing the trouble Peking had with the tax revolt just across the border, Sun acted swiftly and unwisely.

The Manchu government sent two generals and several thousand troops to the affected area, and Sun sent two of his best propagandists into the government camp to preach revolutionary doctrines and to tell the soldiers that a revolutionary army was on its way. Even the generals were interested and agreed to join up with Sun as soon as possible. All depended on getting sufficient supplies of ammunition from Japan and it was lack of adequate supply preparations that doomed the attempt.

Sun reckoned that as soon as the ammunition arrived he could march into China with two thousand men. With reasonable luck his small force would be joined by six thousand volunteers over the border and then the two government generals and their armies would come in. Such a large force, with a little more training, would be strong enough to occupy the Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces. The revolution would then spread like wild fire through the Yangtze valley as far as Nanking and Wuchang, until all China was won. Events in 1911 show that these anticipations of Sun in the year 1907 were not impossible dreams. The ground had been prepared assiduously by propaganda throughout China and it wanted but a little

success in the field, and no failures, for the whole plan to succeed.

The local branches of The League of Sworn Brothers were warned to be ready. The trained men of these branches now took the name of "Dare-to-dies". They knew many would fall in the revolutionary cause, but the Chinese are always ready for self-sacrifice in the interests of the family and the "Dare-to-dies" believed success would at least bring a fuller life to their descendants.

Chang Chau in Honolulu again received the order "come". He had just begun a profitable job but at once threw it up and, that same night, caught a steamer for Japan. In Yokohama he was put in charge of a party of twenty chemistry students who had specialised in explosives. They were to go to Hongkong and get further instructions there.

From Hongkong the little party sailed to French Indo-China, but *en route* the steamer put in at a Chinese port. At this port the steamer, which was Chinese-owned, was inspected by Manchu government officials. All the passengers were lined up on deck and Chang saw, to his horror, the inspection was being made by a high ranking naval officer. It looked as though the government had news of Sun's plans and Chang felt sure he and his comrades would be arrested, tortured and executed. Now he would experience what it meant to belong to the "Dare-to-dies".

One of the secret signs of the fraternity was a movement of the right hand over the heart and Chang, who was but a boy, was so frightened that involuntarily he put his hand over his heart—perhaps because of its irregular beats. To his astonishment the naval officer recognised the sign and solemnly gave the appropriate countersign. Chang feared it was a trick to be used as evidence against him; but when the party at last reached French territory and Chang told Sun of the incident, Sun took from his pocket a list of government officials who were prepared to throw in their lot with the revolutionists when the time came, and there in the list was the name of this naval officer! There were, in fact, many officers and men serving the Manchus who were ready to welcome a revolution but unwilling to risk their lives until they saw a reasonable chance of victory.

Meanwhile Sun's hasty plan of invasion from French Indo-China was put into effect. His troops moved across the border to aid the tax rebels, but the ammunition expected from Japan failed to arrive and the government generals, quick to appreciate this weakness, remained loyal. Sun explains the ammunition failure as due to

"unexpected "troubles" in the Tokyo committee of The League of Sworn Brothers. Sun's men were obliged to retreat into the "Hundred Thousand Mountains" of the border. A second attempt, led personally by Sun, succeeded in capturing a fortified town and three guns but this had to be given up in the face of a superior force of the enemy.

Although the French officials were friendly to Sun it was impossible for them to let affairs drag on with a revolutionary army operating from their territory, and in response to urgent representations from the Manchu government they imposed a ban on Sun Yat-sen.

It was during one of the battles of this campaign that Sun and the faithful Chang had to make a hurried escape. Pursued by the enemy they reached the outskirts of a village where they saw two beggars. Sun paid the beggars a sum of money sufficient to keep them in comfort for many months and in exchange took their tattered clothes. He and Chang, wearing these rags and with their faces rubbed with dirt to complete the disguise, managed to elude the enemy. Reaching the Red River they made their way to the Gulf of Tonkin and thence by junk to Hongkong.

The French ban made it impossible for Sun to remain with his men but he did not abandon all hope. He sent Huang Hsing to carry out a further raid across the border and, in spite of shortages of ammunition, Huang kept his small force in action for several months. Another large-scale raid resulted in the capture of a thousand prisoners but this little victory could not be followed up, for, by now, the French felt obliged to refuse transit to all revolutionists. The successful raiders who began with only two hundred men came back six hundred strong. The French got rid of this embarrassing little force by shipping them to Singapore, where the English received them with natural reluctance.

So the plans for invasion from French Indo-China failed, leaving the revolutionary party weaker in men, funds and hope. Indeed, a wave of acute depression settled on The League of Sworn Brothers and but for Sun's determination the whole organisation would have collapsed. While Sun and Huang were campaigning, affairs at headquarters in Japan went badly. In his *Memoirs*, Sun wrote only of "troubles in our Tokyo committee" without attaching blame to anyone, but it seems there was an intrigue. Two disgruntled men issued a manifesto repudiating Sun's leadership, alleging he was risking lives recklessly for an impossible ideal and also charging

him with misappropriation of funds. One of these men later went over to the enemy. More trouble arose through an ill-advised invitation to a member of the Japanese General Staff to act as adviser to the Society. In this way the Japanese government came to know the innermost secrets of the league and their friendly attitude turned to hostility. It was not long before Japan suspended the publication of *The People's Journal*.

There was now little that could be done at headquarters and soon the office was closed and all affairs of the dispirited party concentrated in the outlawed person of Sun. China, Japan, French Indo-China, The Netherlands Indies, British Malaya and Hongkong were all proscribed areas for Sun Yat-sen, but there was no leader who could take his place.

The ninth defeat recorded by Sun is a commentary on this matter of leadership. An insurrection of newly-mobilised troops in Kwangtung lacked a leader and one of Sun's young lieutenants took command. An accidental explosion killed this man and the whole insurrection fizzled out.

Sun was in America when news of this affair reached him and he at once sailed for Japan. He was recognised by spies in Yokohama and obliged to flee "for the south", but he managed to get together a meeting of his party. His own record says:

"Amongst the comrades at this time there was great depression. After our defeat and the destruction of our strongest committee we had lost advantageous positions. Most of our fighters were forced to flee and emigrate. We had not sufficient strength to organise all anew. Therefore the comrades were in an extremely pessimistic frame of mind, and when we began to talk of our future plans, they all sighed heavily and did not look one another in the eyes."⁸⁷

To use his own expression, Sun "took the floor" and promised to raise fresh funds. Five thousand dollars were needed at once to keep alive the revolutionists in Szechuan and for any further action "several tens of thousands of dollars". "In the space of a few days we collected sixty or seventy thousand dollars," wrote Sun and, although he used the pronoun "we", it is evident this remarkable recovery from despair was due entirely to his own personality and persuasiveness.

The last "failure" took place on March 24, 1911. It was led by Huang Hsing who had at his disposal in Canton about five hundred "Dare-to-dies". Outside the city were larger forces ready to move on receipt of ammunition. Pistols and hand grenades were smuggled

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into the city in medicine cases and then distributed as wedding gifts to about a hundred of the most loyal party members, who staged for the occasion mock-marriages with near relatives and in some instances with their own wives! Owing to failure in communications, delayed telegrams and the like, and to some muddling, the timetable went wrong; the authorities became alarmed and guards were posted at key points.

It might have been wise to postpone the attempt, but as there had been so many failures Huang Hsing feared a postponement would lead to further depression and decided to attack with a picked band of one hundred men. Many of these were of the intellectual class. Armed only with pistols and grenades this resolute little band marched on the *yamên* and actually succeeded in capturing the stronghold and destroying its buildings. Had there been any means of following up this assault the establishment of The Chinese Republic might have come about a few months sooner than it did. As it was, the handful of "Dare-to-dies" fought for five hours against some two thousand soldiers of the government army and, in that time, lost forty-three men killed and twenty-nine prisoners. The remaining thirty, including Huang Hsing, who lost two fingers of his left hand, escaped into hiding. The captured men were at once executed, bringing the total of revolutionaries killed to seventy-two.

This comparatively trivial exploit had far-reaching results. The ninth failure was a glorious failure and the seventy-two "martyrs" became national heroes. All over China men hastened to join The League of Sworn Brothers. Soldiers in the army were prominent amongst the new supporters and, in some parts, the authorities had so little confidence in the loyalty of officers and men that regiments had to be transferred to distant provinces, where it was thought their loyalty might not be put to the test.

After the establishment of the Republic, a memorial to the Seventy-two Martyrs was erected in The City of Rams and became a place of pilgrimage to Chinese and a sight to be shown to foreign tourists.

THE TERRORISTS

Self-immolation as a means of drawing attention to a wrong has been common in China for centuries. An effective way of settling a deep injury is for the injured party to end his life on the doorstep of the man who has wronged him; and, strange as it may appear

to the western mind, this extraordinary form of revenge was not uncommon. It is considered one of the most dreadful things that can happen to a Chinese for someone to commit suicide on his premises. In public life it was not unknown for a minister of state to protest against an injustice of The Son of Heaven by presenting a memorial on the subject and, then, taking his own life.

Before Sun Yat-sen's ninth failure, when members of The League of Sworn Brothers were suffering from acute depression, a section of the society organised a terrorist group. As a protest against the government they planned to assassinate the viceroy of Canton. Wang Ching-wei, who was on the editorial board of The People's Journal and suffered defeat with Sun in the Indo-China rising, joined this terrorist group. Civilised people rightly condemn assassination as a political weapon and it is interesting to find that even in their period of greatest depression the committee of The League of Sworn Brothers strongly disapproved of the plans of Wang's group. Nevertheless, he and a few friends, including the daughter of a wealthy merchant in Penang, disregarded the committee's censure and prepared to sacrifice themselves in some spectacular act that might arouse public opinion to a deeper sense of what they considered to be the wrongs inflicted on China by the Manchus. There was, too, the expectation that some of the many officials who were half-hearted in their support of the Manchus would have their incipient disloyalty aggravated by terrorist acts.

Assassination cannot be justified merely by calling it self-immolation, but there was a difference between what Wang and his comrades attempted and the kind of assassination that enlivens the pages of European history. The feeble-minded young fanatics described by Rebecca West, in *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, who tried to assassinate the Archduke Franz Ferdinand at Sarajevo in 1914 were very different men from the educated Wang Ching-wei, who not only did not want to escape after the deed but intended his own life should be added deliberately to that of his victim. There was, undoubtedly, a lack of balance about Wang and, although he remained very closely associated with Sun Yat-sen right up to the time of the leader's death, he sometimes took an independent line of thought which was eccentric.

Years later Sun Yat-sen listed the names of those of his supporters who attempted terrorist acts and undoubtedly regarded them as heroes who offered their lives for a great cause, but there seems scant evidence that he encouraged anyone to commit assassination.

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Wang informed Sun of his intentions, as he had informed the disapproving committee, but it is not clear what Sun's views were at that time.

The original idea of an attack on the viceroy of Canton was abandoned, but early in 1910 a more ambitious plot was hatched by Wang and a few comrades, including the young woman from Penang. They forgathered in Peking and tried to blow up the Manchu Prince Regent. Wang took with him, sewn into his clothing, copies of The People's Journal containing his own articles attacking Manchu misrule. Anxious to avoid unnecessary loss of life, the conspirators selected a little frequented street along which the heavily guarded Prince Regent sometimes passed. For three nights they worked, fixing fifty pounds of dynamite under a bridge. On the third night, when it was thought the Regent would be returning to his palace very late, the conspirators waited but were unlucky to rouse a dog which set up such barking that the police became suspicious. The dynamite was discovered and Wang and his friends went into hiding. It was decided that three of the party should return to Japan to fetch more explosives and meanwhile Wang and another man would remain in Peking. Wang went to the railway station with the party for Japan and was so careless as to take off his hat in bidding them farewell: like other revolutionists he had cut off his queue and, when in China, wore a false one attached to his hat. His politeness now exposed this. Naturally the police were watching the railway station, so that the man with the false queue, seeing off friends to Japan, was followed by detectives to his secret lodgings. Wang's accomplice was equally incautious, for he went back to the mined bridge a few hours after its discovery by the police. He, too, was followed and his hiding place found.

For more than a fortnight the police did nothing, perhaps in the hope that a delayed arrest would net a larger catch. If the Prince Regent had been blown up it would certainly have caused a sensation, but China was almost as startled by Wang's arrest and subsequent confession. He at once disclosed his name and said he had come to the capital to kill The Prince Regent. The very fact that a man of Wang's standing, with a price of one hundred thousand dollars on his head, should have dared to come to Peking was a sensation. That he disclosed his identity and purpose, not under torture but freely, was further matter for wonder. When asked why he had sewn copies of his revolutionary writings into his clothes

Wang said, "These articles were written in ink; I want to translate them into blood"⁸⁸

The whole affair was so upsetting that the Manchus dithered. They actually asked Wang if the revolutionists could be bribed to keep quiet and not annoy the government. "There is one way," replied Wang, "and no other way, and this is to proclaim the Chinese Republic." "You are facing death," he was warned. "We will treat you well if you leave your party and help us." It was hard for the corrupt Manchu nobles to believe anyone could refuse such an offer, but they dared not execute the popular Wang for fear of precipitating a rising. So he and his companions were sentenced to imprisonment for life, which in the prisons of that day meant a lingering death in chains, victims lasting usually about three years.

In just half that time the Chinese Republic was established and Wang's chains were knocked off, to become an exhibit in the museum of Peking. He was taken from prison and, on account of his popularity, was accorded an official welcome by the Ministry of Justice.

Such were the men and women who worked with Sun Yat-sen to establish the Chinese Republic; such were the insurrections and petty actions that in their cumulation overthrew the Manchu dynasty.

PART FIVE

"Mencius went to see King Hsiang of Liang. On coming out, he said to his people: At the very first sight he did not look to me like a ruler of men, and when I drew near, I saw nothing in him to inspire respect. All of a sudden he asked me: How can the Empire be brought to peace?—I replied: By being united.—Who can give it unity?—I said: A man with no lust for killing men.—But who could place it in the charge of such a man?—Everybody in the Empire will help to do so. Does your Majesty know how corn grows? During the two months of summer drought the sprouts remain dry. Then thick clouds gather in the sky and copious rain begins to fall, whereupon the corn shoots upward and grows rapidly. When this happens, who can hold it back? Now, among the shepherds of the people in this realm there is none without a lust for killing men. If such a one could be found, all the people of the Empire would crane their necks to catch a sight of him. If he were indeed a man like this, the people would flock to him as naturally as water flows downward, and in such a flood that nothing could stem its onrush." (*The Book of Mencius*, translated by Lionel Giles, John Murray, 1942, p. 26.)

ON THE EVE OF SUCCESS

SINCE 1911 the world has grown used to the sound of crashing kingdoms and the rumblings of new republics, but for a long time prior to that date the life of kingdoms was more settled and most enlightened folk feared violent change. Outside China it was commonly agreed the Manchu dynasty had been so discredited that some drastic change was inevitable. Even The Old Buddha, who in 1898 squashed the reformers so effectively, realised that some show of reform was needed and, in 1902, she actually proposed such "reforms" as intermarriage between Manchus and Chinese, which hitherto had been prohibited. When the Manchus drove out the Mings in the year A.D. 1583 the defeated Chinese agreed to accept Manchu domination under four conditions, which are a striking commentary on the Chinese character. They agreed their menfolk should wear the queue and Manchu dress, thus confirming their subjection; but they were to be allowed burial in Ming style costume, thus showing the emphasis they put on funeral rites. They safeguarded the purity of their race by insisting that Chinese women should not be taken for the Imperial harem. Chinese women were not to adopt Manchu dress and could continue the custom of foot-binding. It was, further, agreed that the Senior Classic at the state

examinations must not be a Manchu, thus ensuring the high standards of China's civil service examination system. The Old Buddha also proposed the sending abroad for education of young Manchu princes and advised Chinese women to give up the lily-foot fashion. Of the foreign education of Manchu princes it was said by an English historian, "this was a step which no Manchu would be likely to take unless forcibly coerced into doing so. Any spirit of enterprise which might have been possessed by the founders of the dynasty had long since evaporated and all that Manchu nobles asked was to be allowed to batten in peace upon the Chinese people."⁸⁹

In 1904 The Old Buddha remodelled the examination system but not in the one way most needed. The standard of examinations set for Manchu candidates had been always much lower than the standards required for Chinese candidates. In this way the best civil service posts went always to the Manchus. The new "reforms" insisted on entry to the civil service through colleges which taught modern subjects, but this was not to apply to Manchus—the dice were to be loaded still in favour of the Manchus. Then followed a mission to Europe "to study the mysteries of constitutional government". In 1906 opium reform was tackled, ten years' grace being allowed for the final stamping out of the drug, but as The Old Buddha was herself an opium-smoker the edict did not apply to persons over sixty.

In 1908 a decree was issued setting up a Nine-Years Programme of Constitutional Reform to end in full parliamentary control. One of the biographers of Sun Yat-sen praised this programme for its thoroughness and considers it "a great credit" to the Manchus, but perhaps a more balanced view is that of Professor H. A. Giles who wrote: "The new charter was not found to be of much value, and there is little doubt that the Manchus regarded it in the light of what is known in China as a 'dummy document', a measure to be extolled in theory, but not intended to appear in practice".⁹⁰ Another authority on Chinese affairs, who held a fairly favourable view of the Manchus and admired the "capacity and energy" of The Old Buddha, wrote: "The fact remains that the *entourage* of the Manchu court is quite unsuited to the development of reform of any kind".⁹¹

One of the leading officials in China in these last years of The Old Buddha's power was Yüan Shih-kai, and there was a tendency in Europe and America to credit him with reforming zeal. He promised help to Dr. Timothy Richard in the translation of textbooks and, although the promise was not kept, Dr. Richard con-

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tinued to admire Yüan and later backed him in his conflict with Sun Yat-sen. But this western enthusiasm for Yüan as a reformer was not shared by the Chinese reformers like Kang.

So the reforms proposed and, in part, carried out by the Manchus did nothing to deflect Sun from his conviction that the Manchu dynasty must go, and failed even to impress the monarchist reformers. Sun's programme for China was fast crystallising on the lines of The Three Principles and he was thinking not only of a democratic republic but of far-reaching social reforms, beside which the proposed reforms of the "dummy document" of 1908 were tinklerly.

The young emperor responsible for The Hundred Days of Reform was still the prisoner of The Old Buddha but on November 14, 1908, he was released by death. The Old Buddha appointed his three-year-old nephew as successor, apparently in the hope that she would enjoy another long run as regent. But fate, possibly assisted by the court eunuchs, upset this plan, for the day after the emperor's death The Old Buddha died. It was fitting this energetic, shrewd but ignorant harridan should end her colourful career suddenly and with a touch of mystery, for she typified the half-civilised Manchu people in their dealings with cultured China.

After The Old Buddha's death the coming collapse of the dynasty was apparent even to those who formerly-mocked Sun for even dreaming of it. Wang Ching-wei's attempt to blow up the Prince Regent having failed, this reactionary prince set aside such proposals for reform as did arise from the Nine-Years Programme. He temporised, agreeing to a proposal for a parliament with legislative power to be established in 1913, but even the National Assembly appointed by the Manchus doubted his sincerity.

It has been said that the Manchu dynasty "came in with the roar of a tiger, to disappear like the tail of a snake". At their inglorious end they were served by the able Chinese administrator, Yüan Shih-kai. Yüan was liked and admired by some westerners, but this enthusiasm was not altogether shared by the Chinese, who regarded him as clever and astute but untrustworthy.

When it became obvious to Yüan that his masters, the Manchus, were reaching the snake stage he secretly approached Sun Yat-sen. It was clear Sun's revolutionary campaign was making such headway that Yüan felt he had better look to his own fortunes and come to terms with this man who had such a following amongst the common people. About the end of the year 1910, or very early in 1911, Yüan

sent a messenger to Sun. The exact details of Yüan's proposals are not known and, indeed, may not have been formulated; but it is certain Yüan offered, in general terms, to co-operate with Sun in such a way that the Manchus would have been overthrown by a *coup d'état* and the Chinese Republic established with the backing of the armed forces under Yüan's control. At the time this proposal was made Sun Yat-sen told his friends, the Cantlies, in strict confidence, about it. He rejected Yüan's offer and a year later in an English magazine wrote:

"I expected Yuan Shih-kai would have been able to hold out a little longer. I was so full of this belief that when a year ago Yuan sent for me I distrusted his messenger. I thought he was playing false, but he was really in earnest. He wished to remove the ban from my life and act openly in concert with me. But I said to his messenger, 'Go back to your master and tell him I have not laboured fifteen years and suffered so many perils to be tricked so easily. Tell his Excellency I can wait. *Tien ming wu chang*.' (The Divine right does not last for ever.)"⁹²

It is evident from these words Sun Yat-sen had no faith in the integrity of Yüan Shih-kai. But Sun also foresaw the possibility of Yüan coming over to the revolutionary party from motives of self-interest. It is clear, too, that Sun was now confident of the final outcome of his labours—the Manchus were already slithering through the grass like an escaping snake, and even their henchman, Yüan Shih-kai, could not save them nor prevent their place being taken, not by another dynasty but by a republic. Sun was content to bide his time.

Chinese history books give a table of kings and emperors with their dates, going back to Huang Ti, the Yellow Emperor, who ascended the Dragon Throne in the year 2697 B.C. Some of the early rulers in this table are more legendary than historical, but for roughly four thousand five hundred years China was ruled by a monarchy. Before we consider the events of the famous "double tenth", which changed this astonishing record of human history and converted China into a republic, it is useful to consider the views of some who, at this time, met the man mainly responsible for the stupendous change.

Sun Yat-sen spent "several afternoons and evenings" with J. Ellis Barker in British Columbia early in 1911. Barker was well qualified to discuss Chinese matters with Sun, for he had long been interested in Chinese history, literature and politics and was a trained student of foreign affairs:

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"As the character of a revolution depends largely on the character of its leader, I would give a brief account of the impression which I received from my intercourse with Dr. Sun Yat-sen. The doctor is a man of medium height, slight but wiry, and is forty-five years old. He speaks good English. He is very quiet and reserved in manner, and extremely moderate, cautious and thoughtful in speech. He gives one the impression of being rather a sound and thorough than a brilliant man, rather a thinker than a man of action. . . .

"Dr. Sun Yat-sen seems to be actuated solely by unselfish motives. He does not 'make a good thing' out of his agitation, like so many professional agitators. I found him at a fourth-rate hotel, a kind of lodging-house for working men, occupying a bare and miserable little room. His dress was modest and his luggage scanty. Upon my enquiring he told me smilingly of the many attempts which have been made on his life, and enumerated the rewards which the Chinese Imperial Government, and various provincial Governments, have offered for his head. If I remember rightly, they amount altogether to the enormous sum of 700,000 taels, or about £100,000. One night, when we had been discussing Chinese affairs till past midnight at my hotel, I wished to accompany him back to his hotel, a distance of about three-quarters of a mile, partly from courtesy, partly in order to protect him if he should be attacked. Although he was alone, he absolutely refused my repeated and pressing offers. At last I told him, 'With a reward of £100,000 on your head, you should not go alone through the deserted streets of a strange town. If you have no fear for yourself, you should at least spare yourself for your cause and your country.' He replied with a quiet smile which was half sad and half humorous: 'If they had killed me some years ago, it would have been a pity for the cause; I was indispensable then. Now my life does not matter. Our organisation is complete. There are plenty of Chinamen to take my place. It does not matter if they kill me.' That little incident showed the character, spirit and courage of the man. After saying good-bye at the door of the hotel, I followed Dr. Sun Yat-sen at a distance, feeling responsible for my guest's safety. To my surprise I found that none of his countrymen were waiting outside to escort him to his hotel. The streets were empty. A Chinaman might easily have earned that night the reward of 700,000 taels. Simple, unaffected, and modest, Dr. Sun Yat-sen gives one the impression of a really great man in the fullest sense of the word. It is ridiculous to compare him with Benjamin Franklin and with Garibaldi, for he stands by himself, and is likely to be classed in history among the world's greatest men. No greater task has ever been attempted than that of reforming the oldest and the most conservative State the world has seen, and of converting it into a republic. The reform of Japan is but a small thing compared with the re-creation of China."⁹³

In the course of Sun's talks with Barker, the Chinese leader made clear his belief that the Chinese people are naturally suited for self-government and outlined a system of local parliaments to replace the semi-independent provinces of China—these local parliaments to be subordinate to a national parliament. He declared the life and

property of foreigners would be safe in a Chinese Republic and the Republic would be friendly to all nations—but he added, significantly, “it would expect to be treated as a civilised nation”. Sun emphasised China’s need for railways and said the Manchus had deliberately retarded transport because improved communications would have brought the four hundred million Chinese into closer contact with each other to the disadvantage of the five million Manchus.

These conversations convinced Barker. He wrote, “If ever there was a people rightly struggling to be free it is the Chinese. The Chinese deserve the sympathy of the world in their struggle for freedom and for good popular government.” He warned his countrymen, Americans and the European Powers against any intervention in the coming struggle. “It is to be hoped that the revolutionists will succeed in overthrowing the Manchu *régime* in a very short time,” he said, and later added, “the best authorities agree that the Manchu *régime* has been so seriously discredited in the eyes of the people that it can scarcely last much longer.”

A significant point in connection with Sun’s activities up to this time is the amount of support he obtained from Christian converts. In one of the Canton risings, as has been noted, a Chinese Christian pastor assembled no less than five hundred of his flock in a church in readiness for armed intervention. Sun drew sympathy and encouragement from foreign Christians like Cantlie, Linebarger and Hager, and it was in the home of a Chinese Christian in America that he first met Wang Ching-wei. In 1906 a Japanese Congregational minister in Yokohama gave sanctuary to Sun’s secretary in Japan, who was under threat of deportation for revolutionary activities. An agent of the American Bible Society introduced this man to the Japanese pastor. Later, when Sun returned to Japan, this Congregational minister met Sun and left an interesting account of his friendship:

“Sun was frequently at my house and we became good friends. He trusted me and was grateful to me and we had long talks about his affairs. He was very hopeful and said he was sure of success in the end, by the help of God. Those were the very words he used, for he had told me he was a Christian. I do not think he went to church in Yokohama for he could not have understood what was said. He moved to Tokyo where he became friends with many of the professors of Waseda University, and during his stay there he met Count Okuma, who, of course, could not express sympathy but was interested in him. The Japanese Christians, especially, were in favour of Sun because they believed that he stood for the rights of man and was opposed to oppression and cruelty, as shown in the policy of the Manchus.”⁹⁴

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In 1910 this Japanese pastor was in charge of a church in Honolulu and, hearing Sun was to be at the Fort Street Chinese Church, went to hear him speak:

"He called at my house soon after and we had a long talk. I asked him how the revolutionary movement was getting on and he said that the rising would occur the next year and that the plans were so well laid that this time he was sure of success. He told me that when last in China he could go about anywhere in the south for the soldiers were with him and were ready to join the revolutionists and that as he went about they even guarded him. He left Honolulu in 1910 and before he went away the Chinese gave him a farewell reception at which the Rev. Frank Damon presided, for he was in sympathy with the aims of Dr. Sun. I was present as a friend and marked the enthusiasm which was shown."⁹⁵

Some years later this same Japanese pastor told Bishop Restarick he regarded Sun Yat-sen as a sincere, high-minded and honest man with a strong love of his people and his native land, and added that in many conversations Sun showed he was "in accord with Christian principles".

Meanwhile, within China, Sun's Christian friend Charles Soong continued the secret printing of revolutionary propaganda. It is said he "cheerfully risked his life and the welfare of his family" in the cause⁹⁶ and that when Sun visited Shanghai he always stayed at the Soong home. Charles Soong made sure his children should have a western education by sending them to America and the eldest girl Eling, afterwards Madame Kung, returned to Shanghai in the year 1909 having graduated at the early age of nineteen. At once she became her father's active partner in the work of organising the local branch of Sun Yat-sen's party, keeping the secret register of members and collecting subscriptions. Chingling Soong and the youngest sister, Mayling, were still at college in America.

THE DOUBLE TENTH

It is recorded of the revolutionist Lenin that only a few weeks before the outbreak of the Russian revolution he told some students in Switzerland they might hope to see the day when it began, but that it would not be during his lifetime. Once the spirit of discontent is stirred in men's minds it must receive satisfaction or burst. Like the great Huang Ho in flood, it brims the banks and will, sooner or later, sweep through at some weak spot; but no man may predict exactly where or when.

Sun Yat-sen gave his Japanese friend, the Congregational Minister

in Yokohama, a definite date for the rising which would overwhelm the Manchus and establish the Chinese republic—it was to occur “next year”; that is to say, during 1911. But early in 1911, when discussing affairs with J. Ellis Barker, Sun was content to say the revolution would “break out within two years”. When he added, “Now my life does not matter. Our organisation is complete. There are plenty of Chinese to take my place,” he was quite sincere. He knew his determined work made the revolution inevitable; nothing, now, could stop it: but the incident that would set it in motion, the first small breach in the banks through which the pent-up flood would find an outlet and soon become unstemable—that was outside the scope of organisation and could not be predicted. Sun Yat-sen was forty-five years old, so it was natural he should think the beginning of the republic would be the end of his work: he did not yet understand that the successful achievement of any aim is only the beginning of a larger task.

During the autumn of 1911, while Sun was travelling in America, he received a cable from Hankow. His code book was in a trunk which had been sent on ahead to a town in Columbia. Evidently Sun did not expect any important news, for, instead of cabling for a plain message, he carried the coded message with him till he reached Columbia ten days later. Then he deciphered the message and learned the revolutionists were about to seize the town of Wuchang. Apparently revolutionary propaganda in this area had caused such disaffection amongst the troops of the Manchu army that an immediate revolt stood a good chance of success. Next morning Sun bought a newspaper and saw the headline “Wuchang occupied by revolutionists”. Membership of the league now stood at the remarkable figure of three hundred thousand and it was obvious the successful occupation of Wuchang meant something very different from the small risings of the previous sixteen years. Wuchang is just across the mighty Yangtze Kiang from the cities of Hankow and Hanyang, the three places making a key centre of great strategic importance.

Alone, in America, without a colleague with whom to discuss the sudden turn of events, Sun Yat-sen was yet absolutely confident that this time success was assured. Within three weeks he might be back in Shanghai, taking his rightful place at the head of affairs and making sure no-one on the spot outbid him for the presidency of the new republic. Instead he turned away from China and travelled to New York *en route* for London.

Sun's action was thoroughly characteristic. He knew a trained soldier like Huang Hsing could well manage what fighting was still to be done. He looked further ahead, to the first needs of the infant republic and in so doing he was utterly without regard for his own interests. He had complete confidence in the ability of the Chinese people to rule themselves as a republic provided there was no intervention by foreign Powers. The earnest warning to this effect in Ellis Barker's article in *The Fortnightly Review* was, surely, an echo of Sun's talk with Barker. Armed intervention was possible but the more likely and dangerous intervention was by finance.

For some time China had been borrowing money from a consortium of British, American, German and French bankers and Sun knew that a big loan was in process of negotiation. There are some who think this combination of bankers, the Consortium, was no less than a monopoly of lenders, united in their own interests to squeeze as much as they could from hard-up China; but the system had arisen from a sincere desire to avoid friction between the lending countries, such friction having been lubricated, in the past, at the expense of China. As happens often with arrangements which begin with good intentions, the Consortium system was carried on too long. It can be justified as a means of curbing the aggression of the Powers by removing one of their temptations; but it deprived China of the right of "borrowing in the best market" and, it is possible, the Chinese sometimes wished the Powers would overcome their temptations some other way. Sir John Pratt, a great authority on the subject, states that by 1911 both Chinese and British were "thoroughly dissatisfied with this group method of doing business".⁹⁷

Sun knew that as soon as a republic was established it would receive the sympathy, at least, of America and France. Germany was not sufficiently interested in the Far East to take any action on her own initiative: but there was a danger from England and her young ally Japan. The Japanese government in 1911 was openly hostile to the revolutionists, and England, with her traditional notion of observing an attitude that is correct legally, had placed a ban on Sun Yat-sen in such important colonies as Hongkong and Malaya. Sun felt a visit to London might stop the loan negotiations which, if completed, would supply the Manchus with much-needed funds to fight the revolutionists and bolster up the expiring dynasty. He quite realised the Covenanters might suffer some temporary embarrassments by being out of touch with their leader at this critical time,

but he reckoned the greatest need of China was the friendship of England and the stopping of the Consortium loan.

As Sun passed through St. Louis he bought another newspaper which credited him with being in command of the successful Wuchang outbreak and predicted he would be chosen President of the forthcoming republic. What an opportunity for an egoist; for a man with exaggerated self-importance; for anyone who needed publicity to feed ambition! Sun had only to disclose his identity and every newspaper in America would have rushed to interview the likely future President of China. Headlines from New York to San Francisco would have shouted the news, "Probable President of China in St. Louis—Travels Incognito," or, "Shy St. Louis visitor probable President 400 million Chinese—exclusive interview".

But Sun Yat-sen went his way outwardly unconcerned. No-one knew better than he how to take the limelight when it was in the interests of China for him to do so, but it would not do for the press to get hold of the story that the likely President of China was, just then, travelling away from China in the hope of stopping a financial deal in London! So, while the newspapers of America were full of the amazing news from the orient, Sun travelled on, alone, to New York losing his identity in an assumed name. During his short stay in New York, Sun stopped at an hotel near Madison Square, close to a store run by his baptismal friend Tong Phong. The two had meals together. From Chinese friends in New York Sun heard the Wuchang rising was spreading southwards and that the capture of Canton was imminent. At once he cabled the viceroy asking him to surrender, in order to minimise bloodshed, and invited him to join the revolutionists. At the same time Sun cabled his party to spare the viceroy's life. "Both these advices were successfully carried out."⁹⁸

Doubtless some of the passengers in the ship that took Sun across the Atlantic spoke to the quiet little Chinese, asking what *he* thought of the news from his native land and, doubtless, they received a smiling and courteous reply; but none guessed his identity.

The home of the Cantlies was always Sun's headquarters in London and while he crossed the Atlantic many cables for him were arriving at 46 Devonshire Street. There was such confidence between Sun and his former professor that it had been arranged Dr. Cantlie should open all messages for Sun in his absence. One cable reached London with the vague address "Sun Wen, London," and a bright Post Office official wrote across the envelope "Try Chinese

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Legation". Apparently someone at the Legation decoded the message and, having written Chinese characters against the code words, sent the cable to Dr. Cantlie asking if Sun Wen were there. Dr. Cantlie was not at home but Mrs. Cantlie, fearing a repetition of the kidnapping incident, carefully copied the Chinese characters and then sent back the message saying that Sun was not at 46 Devonshire Street. Two hours afterwards Sun walked in. He read Mrs. Cantlie's copy of the cable, smiled and put it in his pocket. Next day Mrs. Cantlie mentioned what had happened and Sun was astonished she should have copied the difficult Chinese characters so accurately. Naturally the Cantlies were curious to know the contents of a message that had been decoded by the Legation, which was still under the control of the Manchus, but they had often told Sun not to disclose, even to them, anything of his work he considered secret. Now their curiosity was sufficiently strong to prompt the question, "Was the news secret?" "Oh no," replied Sun, "didn't I tell you? It was asking me to be President of the new Republic." Would he accept? Sun Yat-sen, with a characteristic pause for reflection, said: "Yes, for the time being, if no-one else can be found better in the meantime."⁹⁹

While in London, Sun persuaded the Foreign Office to revoke the orders for his exclusion from British Colonial territories and persuaded the president of the Banking Consortium to suspend the loan to the Manchus. He asked that the money intended for railway developments should be diverted to the Republic and was told the Consortium would consider this when a regular Chinese government was formally recognised by the Powers.

Sun had such faith in his cause that he underestimated the reluctance of bankers to lend money on political ventures. On this, and other occasions, he was naively optimistic about foreign loans. He so often met with a generous response from his countrymen when appealing for gifts, that he never seems to have realised fully that the impulse to give in a noble cause is very different from the shrewd way in which men invest their money. Many a business man gives handsomely but lends meanly.

During this short stay in London Sun Yat-sen met Homer Lea. It will be remembered this strange American, with a deep respect for the Chinese and a desire to serve them in some military capacity, organised the Chinese Reform Cadets in San Francisco and then linked up with the reformer Kang Yu-wei. Five years after that, when Sun was speaking at a revolutionary meeting in America, he

noticed in the audience a short, pale-faced hunchback whom he took to be a student or a missionary. After the meeting the stranger came to Sun and said:

"I should like to throw in my lot with you. I should like to help you. I believe your propaganda will succeed."

Such enthusiasm was not uncommon in Sun's audiences but afterwards he asked a friend, "Who was that little hunchback?"

"Oh, that is Colonel Homer Lea," was the reply. "One of the most brilliant—perhaps the most brilliant military genius now alive. He is a perfect master of modern warfare."

Probably the name was unfamiliar to Sun, although Homer Lea created a sensation in American military circles with a book entitled *The Valour of Ignorance*, which suggested The United States were ill-prepared militarily to combat what the author considered to be the increasing menace of Japan. Sun's enigmatic comment, "And he has just offered to throw in his lot with me!" was followed by an interview between the two men, when Sun promised Homer Lea a post as military adviser if ever Sun should have the official power to make such an appointment.

"Do not wait until you are President of China," said Lea, "you may want me before then. You can neither make nor keep a government without an army."¹⁰⁰

This conversation took place in 1910. Homer Lea chanced to be in London in the autumn of 1911 on a trip to Europe for his failing health. Still eager to help, he offered to accompany the future Provisional President back to China and was aboard the P. and O. ship in which Sun sailed to Shanghai. At Singapore a crowd was waiting on the wharf to welcome Sun; at Hongkong, which for sixteen years had seen him only as a disguised fugitive, newspapermen sought interviews; and at Shanghai a large crowd, which included Charlie Soong and his daughter Eling, gave Sun a great welcome, while an official deputation from the Revolutionary Party awaited him to discuss the current situation. A month or two later Homer Lea was so ill he had to be taken back to California, and there he died. The part played in Chinese affairs by this military-minded American was trivial. Very few of the cadets trained in the United States ever fought in China and it is doubtful if Sun Yat-sen thought of Homer Lea as more than a devoted foreigner whose sympathy for the Chinese people deserved a courteous return and whose name might have some influence in the occident.

The outbreak at Wuchang occurred on the 10th of October, 1911.

Sun Yat-sen landed at Shanghai on Christmas eve of the same year, and it is necessary to narrate briefly what happened during the intervening period.

The opening day of the revolution, the auspicious tenth day of the tenth month in the year 1911, was not chosen with deliberation nor after consultation with necromancers in accordance with the ancient custom of China; but Chance, in the formlessness of a prematurely exploding bomb, fixed on the double-tenth. Actually it was the afternoon of October 9th when the bomb exploded in a secret store used by the league in the Russian concession at Hankow. The Russian police searching the premises found flags, badges and documents belonging to the revolutionists. They passed on this information to the Chinese Viceroy in the adjacent city of Wuchang. He at once raided the local headquarters of The League of Sworn Brothers and discovered a register of officers and soldiers in the Army pledged to help the revolutionists. This list was so formidable that the Viceroy's courage ebbed. Many of the troops who were thought to favour revolution had been moved already from Wuchang but the Viceroy, staring at the list just seized, began to doubt the loyalty of the men around him. He ordered some executions, which were carried out promptly, but the atmosphere remained tense and, on the night of the tenth, he fled to the safety of Shanghai.

Meanwhile the revolutionists, their membership and plans laid bare, decided to get in the first blow. On the night of the tenth they attacked the *yamên* only to find the garrison commander had made good his escape with the Viceroy. The revolutionists then took possession of the disordered city. In the opinion of Sun the garrison troops would have fought if their officers had not fled and later, when writing of this incident, he concluded, "And so Heaven itself helped China".

This premature start and easy success were not without their embarrassment. Sun Yat-sen was in America; the military leader of the society in China, Huang Hsing, was ten days distant from Wuchang and the local leader happened to be away on revolutionary business elsewhere. His second-in-command was unluckily wounded. In this way the men who for years had tasted nothing but defeat now found themselves victorious but without a leader! As the proverb says, "Armies can be found—a leader is difficult".

After a hurried consultation they decided to invite as temporary military leader a certain colonel in the army of the Manchus, named Li Yuan-hung. A deputation went to the colonel's house but he,

thinking the revolutionists would undoubtedly kill him as an enemy, tried to escape. He ran from room to room, respectfully followed by the deputation. At last Colonel Li, unable to get out of the house, hid under his wife's bed; but in his agitation was so careless as to leave one heel sticking out. The revolutionist deputation seized on this heel and pulled out the terrified colonel. He began to beg for mercy and was surprised when the leader of the deputation expressed polite concern for his health. "General Li," he said, wisely elevating the colonel's rank, "we should be greatly honoured if you and your troops would join our ranks."

So the victorious revolutionists of Wuchang got their military leader who, under the style of Generalissimo, promptly issued a proclamation, dated the nineteenth day of the eighth moon of the four thousand six hundred and ninth year after Huang Ti, The Yellow Emperor, announcing the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty and the establishment of a revolutionary military government. The proclamation declared arson, rape, murder, looting and concealment of mandarins to be capital offences; offered rewards for the provision of food and for the propagation of the revolution among the people and, lastly, undertook to protect the lives and property of foreigners and to maintain existing treaties if the Powers concerned refrained from assisting the Manchus. The proclamation was a little premature, for, while Chinese everywhere welcomed the revolution, a Manchu still sat on the Dragon Throne and the Manchus controlled the capital and all north China. Another of Li's edicts referred to the "traitorous Chinese robbers" who worked with the Manchus and contained the rather gruesome but vivid phrase, "These robbers have hitherto eaten our flesh and now we will sleep in their skins".¹⁰¹

Nevertheless Li Yuan-hung was a timid, jovial man who had nothing in common with hot-headed revolutionists. His chance leadership at this time of crisis proved to be wise and conciliatory; and accounts, partly, for the fact that the excited mobs did not get entirely out of hand. For some days there was fighting in and around the Wuchang area and, at first, those who were not in a position to know the strength of the secret revolutionary movement could not believe that this sudden outbreak, by what appeared to be ill-armed rebels, could really shake the ancient Dragon Throne of China.

Within a month of the double-tenth the revolution spread all over China. Three Chinese students at a military academy in Japan

obtained short leave and slipped across to Shanghai. One was the twenty-four-year-old Chiang Kai-shek. They reported for service with the revolutionists and Chiang was sent with a hundred men to capture the strongly held *yamen* in the city of Hangchow. The young soldier acquitted himself well and in twenty-four hours captured the whole city. All over China cities and towns began to set up provisional local governments in the name of the revolution. Something like a quarter of a million Manchus left the Peking neighbourhood and fled to Manchuria. On October 30th the baby-emperor Hsüan Tung—a name which, ironically, means “wide control”—published an edict the absurdity of which should have convinced even those who were still loyal to the throne that the dynasty was doomed:

“I have reigned for three years, and have always acted conscientiously in the interests of the people, but I have not employed men properly, not having political skill. I have employed too many nobles in political positions, which contravenes constitutionalism. On railway matters someone whom I trusted fooled me, and thus public opinion was opposed. When I urged reform, the officials and gentry seized the opportunity to embezzle. When old laws are abolished, high officials serve their own ends. Much of the people's money has been taken but nothing to benefit the people has been achieved. On several occasions edicts have promulgated laws, but none of them have been obeyed. People are grumbling, yet I do not know; disasters loom ahead, but I do not see. . . . The whole empire is seething. The minds of the people are perturbed. The spirits of our nine late emperors are unable properly to enjoy sacrifices, while it is feared the people will suffer grievously. All these are my own fault, and hereby I announce to the world that I swear to reform, and, with our soldiers and people, to carry out the constitution faithfully, modifying legislation, developing the interests of the people and abolishing their hardships—all in accordance with the wishes and interests of the people. Old laws that are unsuitable will be abolished.”¹⁰²

Thus, in the hour of despair, the Manchus pleaded guilty to just those acts of misgovernment which the lad, Sun Tai-cheong, denounced in Choyhung and which the man, Sun Yat-sen, had been proclaiming for sixteen years in all quarters of the civilised world.

A month after the baby-emperor's edict, another was issued by the new Empress Dowager (not to be confused with The Old Buddha) throwing all the blame on the Prince-Regent:

“ . . . his administration has been unpopular . . . constitutional government has not been consummated. Thus complications arose, and people's hearts were broken, and the country thrown into a state of turmoil. Hence one man's mismanagement has caused the nation to suffer miserably. He regrets his repentance is already too late, and feels that if he continues in power his commands will soon be disregarded. He wept and prayed to resign

the regency, expressing the earnest intention of abstaining in the future from politics. I, the Empress Dowager, living within the palace, am ignorant of the state of affairs. . . . I must enquire into the circumstances and find a remedy. The Regent is honest, though ambitious and unskilled in politics. Being misled, he has harmed the people, and therefore his resignation is accepted. . . . I will lead the Emperor to conduct audiences."¹⁰³

There was still a considerable army of well-equipped and trained soldiers at the disposal of the Manchus and the Empress Dowager called upon Yüan Shih-kai to save the dynasty. The Manchus were willing to concede almost anything and gave Yüan a free hand.

Yüan was an ambitious man, cool, far-seeing, an adept at making use of other men and skilful in compromise. He knew the Manchu dynasty was doomed and his main concern was to see a peaceful outcome of this revolutionary fervour with himself in a commanding position. For years Yüan had been associated with movements for the reform of the army and the civil service. In theory he supported the progressives and good men like Dr. Timothy Richard believed Yüan might save China from disruption. Indeed, if Yüan Shih-kai had been as selfless as Sun Yat-sen, and imbued with even a small fraction of Sun's ardour for social reform, he could have saved China from the coming years of misery. Instead Yüan turned his great ability to dividing the revolutionists so that he might rule them.

In comparison with previous disturbances in China and considering the vast numbers of people concerned there was little blood shed in the revolution. In the heat of the revolution many Manchus were slain, but the Chinese are a tolerant people and very soon a policy was proclaimed officially giving equal treatment for all, including Manchus. The new republican flag, in which each of the five colours represented a "race" of Chinese, included a colour for the Manchus. Apart from the fact of misrule by the Manchu leaders the contention of Sun Yat-sen had been always that five million Manchus had no right to dominate the four hundred million *other* Chinese. He never objected to their inclusion in the republic and once the dynasty was overthrown they were allowed equality in the state.

While Sun was undoubtedly right in delaying his return to China while he visited London, his absence at this critical period revealed how much the whole movement depended on its leader. A professor of Harvard University, who wrote an important book on the Chinese revolution, declares that if Yüan had secured the loan which Sun went to London to stop, "there would have been no republic".¹⁰⁴ With characteristic humility Sun assured Ellis Barker "now my

life does not matter", but his deputy, Huang Hsing, though a sound soldier, lacked the moral authority of Sun; and the revolutionists acted in little isolated groups under sectional leaders who did not co-operate. The very fact that the movement had been carried on so long in secret meant only a very few of the leaders were even known to the masses and the personality of Sun had been so dominant there was none to take his place.

One revolutionist writing of this period says, "Among the party members there was a mistaken belief that everyone of Chinese origin, if sympathetic towards the Revolution, even if only nominally so, would, as a matter of course, co-operate with them in the task of establishing a new political and social order in China".¹⁰⁵ But there were others, besides Colonel Li, who found it expedient to join the revolutionists; and the party, swollen by success, was at the same time weakened by opportunists.

The wily Yüan Shih-kai had no easy task to save what he could for his Manchu masters, but he watched the disordered enthusiasm of these new revolutionary leaders with the cynical regard of the practised politician; all this froth would blow away and underneath would be found the good old well-matured vintage that China knew so well; maybe the Manchu dynasty would fall, for them it seemed "the mandate of Heaven was exhausted", but another dynasty would arise. It is by no means certain that Yüan had any sincere desire to save the Manchus.

Yüan knew the surest way to divide the revolutionists was to play on the old antipathy between north and south and he quickly secured control in the northern provinces. He was careful to antagonise the revolutionists as little as possible but he was responsible for the assassination of several of their leaders and this led to an attempt on his own life in which four revolutionists were caught and executed. On the whole Yüan was successful in sitting astride the fence; no-one quite knew how far his loyalty to the Manchus would tempt him to jump on their side, but there were many who hoped he could be persuaded to come down on the side of a republic and reform. An observer, in far-away England, summed up the situation accurately: "At the present time he is doing all he can to come down on the right side of the fence".¹⁰⁶

Further south the revolutionary army under Huang Hsing captured Nanking, the traditional southern capital of China, and formed a military government. This was very necessary if any sort of law and order were to be maintained, but a deadlock was reached when

the delegates from the various branches of The League of Sworn Brothers first elected Huang Hsing as Generalissimo with Colonel Li as Vice-Generalissimo; and then, later, owing to intrigues, reversed the order! On account of this lack of unity neither Huang nor Li would accept the leadership.

Such was the chaotic state of affairs when Sun Yat-sen reached Shanghai.

IN THE MOMENT OF SUCCESS

Sun's long voyage from England to Shanghai at the close of 1911 was momentous. From the gloom of an English November he passed slowly through France and the Mediterranean into the warm brightness of the Indian Ocean and the sultry heat of the tropics. But it was not the weather that made the journey momentous; nor the strangeness of travelling under his own name; nor the gradual realisation that he need no longer be on the alert for spies; nor the bevy of young girls strewing with flowers his path from the ship's gangway at Singapore; nor the rich merchants vying with each other for the honour of entertaining a national hero; nor the clamorous pressmen of Hongkong; nor the respectful interest of fellow-passengers: these things were gratifying to one who had been so long an exile, but more important was the long period given by a sea voyage for undisturbed contemplation.

It has been said, rather wittily, that men may be divided into the many who speak without thinking, the few who speak in order to think and the very few who think in order to speak. Sun belonged to the last small group. Now, as the ship in which he sailed steamed slowly through sunlit seas, driving from her bows flights of flying fish or following a brilliant moon down a sparkling silver path, the man who had spent most of his life planning the overthrow of the Manchus spent quiet hours dreaming of China's future.

His thoughts were by no means unpractical. Sun could not tell what might be the precise state of affairs when he reached China, but he was confident a republic would be established soon. He knew China was not yet ready for a fully constitutional government. Were not more than ninety per cent of her people unable to read or write? Given a chance the Chinese would soon learn how to work a democratic constitution but there must be a preparatory period. Before the military control of the revolutionary armies was relaxed

it would be necessary to set up district governments with full control of local affairs, while larger matters were settled by the military dictatorship of the party working under a President. Meanwhile the people must be educated, as quickly as possible, to a fully democratic system.

The deputation which welcomed Sun at Shanghai brought the news that the revolutionary government, set up in Nanking, now controlled fifteen of the eighteen provinces of China. The other three were held uneasily by the watchful Yüan Shih-kai. Less satisfactory to Sun was the obvious lack of discipline within the revolutionary party; the dispute about Huang Hsing and Li; and the policy, already decided, of inviting the co-operation of Yüan in the expectation that he would loyally observe a fully democratic republic.

The years of revolutionary propaganda had borne such sudden fruit that many of the revolutionists forgot that fruit needs time to ripen and afterwards must be harvested. When Sun propounded his careful plans for maintaining a military government until the whole of China was pacified, and all Manchu reactionaries suppressed, the deputation demurred. In vain Sun pointed out that the failure of the French Revolution of 1789 was due to the premature introduction of a democratic system. In this argument he was supported only by the somewhat unstable Wang Ching-wei. Now that the league had achieved their main object of overthrowing the Manchus, members set little store by their oath of allegiance to Sun and the deputation pressed for an immediate constitutional government. It has been said by one of Sun's critics that he was eager to build but not to let others build. At least on this occasion it would have been better if Sun had not given way to his colleagues. Claiming no special credit for the success achieved, he said, with generosity, "The present situation was brought about by you all"; and so accepted the majority verdict. It is a fair criticism of Sun that on such a vital point he should not have allowed the majority to override his judgment.

On January 1, 1912, Sun Yat-sen entered Nanking and was welcomed with a salute of twenty-one guns. Delegates, assembled from every province of China, elected him Provisional President. He ordered the proclamation, a little prematurely, of the Chinese Republic; and he ordered the alteration, a little abruptly, of the calendar from the old Chinese system—January 1st becoming the New Year's day of the republic.

In his *Memoirs* Sun wrote, "Thus thirty years passed as one day, and only after their completion did I achieve my principal aim, the aim of my life—the creation of the Chinese Republic". In the spirit of "the great undauntedness", a phrase Sun often used, he had stuck to his aim from the time when, penniless and with only a few student friends, he began his revolutionary movement. Great leaders of men are usually humble, though their humility is often hidden by a thin protective coating of pride, as a crucible of molten lead is dimmed by a skin of oxidised metal. Sun Yat-sen was essentially humble and his quiet rejoicing over the establishment of the republic showed no trace of vanity or personal ambition. When he told the Cantlies he would accept the Presidency "if no one else can be found better in the meantime" he showed the common Chinese virtue of self-effacement, and he was absolutely sincere.

Rejoicing with Sun in Nanking were his friends the Soongs, with their eldest daughter Eling, and many more of the ardent spirits who companioned him in the long struggle; but leadership must be paid for in the coin of loneliness and Sun may have been conscious of his spiritual isolation.

As he stood listening to the guns firing the salute in his honour; and as he, the leader of four hundred million Chinese, watched the shouting crowds, who, for the most part, knew him only as a name to be whispered at secret society meetings, he reflected, surely, on the strangeness of his past life. A man elevated above the common level necessarily loses something of the common touch and in Sun's case there were other barriers of peculiar sorts. Thirty-three of his forty-six years had been lived away from China; only the years of early boyhood were typical of normal Chinese life. Any Chinese student returning from education abroad was forced to make complex adjustments with native life; but Sun, a western-trained doctor of medicine who scarcely ever practised, had spent most of his adult years flitting from one country to another and the adjustments were correspondingly greater. Familiar with the drab shabbiness which makes cheap lodgings alike in any land, he knew little of home life and was a stranger to his wife and children; he was a man of assumed names, which must be remembered and answered to; a companion of secret signs, hurried departures and half-packed luggage. With the creation of the republic, Sun felt the aim of his life was achieved and a sure instinct told him China needed a President who stood closer to the people in experience of everyday living and, perhaps, one who knew more of the intricacies of Chinese politics. While

the people acclaimed him, he remembered his own words, spoken to the Cantlies in London, "if no one else can be found better in the meantime".

There is a saying, attributed to Lao Tzu: "When your work is done and fame has been achieved, then retire into the background; for this is the way of Heaven". Sun Yat-sen was not moved by such mystic abnegation. Nor did he speculate about Fame, like the poet Li Po:

*"To be without fame is best
What is the use of exalted solitude like that of the clouds or the moon?
I see that from ancient times till modern that the greatest people,
When they made their names, if they did not retire all came to grief."*¹⁰⁷

Rather Sun felt as a fighter who has braced himself for a long contest and finds, suddenly, it is all over and he has won. There was never any doubt he would continue to devote his life to China, but his thoughts now turned to educational work, to social and industrial development, rather than to political leadership. Had he chosen to remain head of the republic it is certain his followers would have agreed; although, already, there was the shadow of disagreement on account of their desire to establish at once a constitutional government and to co-operate with Yüan Shih-kai.

The argument in favour of approaching Yüan was strong. He was the trusted servant of the Manchus and he controlled considerable armed forces in the north. If he fought the republic there would be more bloodshed and, at the end, even greater chaos for the republicans to tackle. If he changed sides and joined the republicans, the Manchus, abandoned by their last Chinese supporter, would have to acknowledge defeat and all fighting would cease. There was, too, the problem of administering the vast land of China, long harassed by foreign Powers and torn, now, by revolution. Sun spoke confidently of the young western-educated men of his party who could take over administrative duties, but there was a lot to be said for keeping some of the old ones!

Without delay Sun Yat-sen got in touch with Yüan, who was watching events from the northern capital of Peking, and offered to resign the Presidency in his favour if Yüan first secured the abdication of the Manchus and thereafter gave loyal support to the republic.

Meanwhile the provisional constitution passed by the assembly in Nanking contained some notable clauses: no citizen was to be punished except in accordance with the law, freedom of speech and

publication were assured, there was to be freedom of religion, secrecy of private letters, the right of assembly, the homes of citizens were not to be entered or searched without warrant, citizens were to have the right of participating in civil examinations and could petition Parliament and sue officials for violation of their rights.¹⁰⁷ Some of these civil rights had been common in China for centuries through the ethics of Confucian teaching rather than from written law; but, in the latter part of the Manchu dynasty, they had fallen somewhat into desuetude.¹⁰⁸

The new constitution involved the scrapping of familiar political institutions and their reform on occidental lines largely unknown to China. The abandonment of the monarchy in favour of a republic was, indeed, a drastic and hazardous experiment but an American authority on Chinese history has said, "it is clear that this offered some, perhaps the best, hope of avoiding prolonged civil war and possible foreign intervention".¹⁰⁹

One of Sun's first acts as Provisional President was to issue a manifesto addressed "To all friendly nations". Beginning with a strongly worded indictment of the Manchus which touched, rather cleverly, on their interference with foreign trade, this manifesto proclaimed the establishment of a republic to "remedy these evils". It promised to respect existing treaties and concessions and loans, including those entered into by the Manchus prior to the revolution, and to protect foreign persons and property. The phrase "we shall strive to elevate the people, to secure peace and to legislate for prosperity", summed up the cherished aims of the Provisional President. As this manifesto was issued in the very flush of success it is striking to find an appeal to foreign nations to "bear in patience with us the period of trial confronting us and our reconstruction work". Here was no easy optimism! Sun knew well enough the difficulties ahead, but he relied on the good will of other peoples "to aid the consummation of the far-reaching plans which we are about to undertake". Alas! In 1912 it was altogether too much to expect any nation to behave towards another with that disinterested generosity which is so common between individuals. The manifesto ended in words of simple dignity:

"With this message of peace and good-will the republic cherishes the hope of being admitted into the family of nations, not merely to share its rights and privileges, but to co-operate in the great and noble task of building up the civilisation of the world. Sun Yat-sen, *President*."

The number of persons in Europe or America who, in 1912, looked

to China to contribute anything at all to "the noble task of building up the civilisation of the world" was remarkably small. The phrase reminds us Sun had long since modified his youthful enthusiasm for western civilisation. China must utilise western inventions, certainly, but the much-travelled Provisional President of the Chinese Republic saw the need for building up not only in China but in every land.

In America the news of the success of the revolution brought from the pen of the youthful Chingling Soong an article for her school magazine. It was accurately entitled "The Greatest Event of the Twentieth Century". After quoting a lecture by Dean Crawshaw on Fraternity as "the unrealised ideal of humanity", Chingling said, "it may be for China, the oldest of nations, to point the way to this Fraternity. In other ways, too, China will take her place in the effort to uplift humanity".¹¹⁰ Had this child read the appeal of Sun to all friendly nations or was it that her idealistic young mind thought along the same lines as did the child-like Sun? Either way she was clearly a kindred spirit. Her father sent her the new flag of the Republic and Chingling, pulling down the old dragon flag, cried "Down with the dragon! Up with the flag of the Republic".

On letter-paper headed "Republic of China, The President's Office, Nanking", Sun wrote to his friends the Cantlies on January 21, 1912:

"MY DEAR DR. AND MRS. CANTLIE,

"It will be your pleasure to hear from me that I have assumed the Presidency of the Provisional Republican Government in China, which I accepted with disinterested fervour in order to render myself an instrumentality to rescue China with its four hundred million population from environment of impending perils and dishonour. I ought to have written you much earlier, but something or other always prevented me from doing so, having been kept exceedingly busy since I arrived here and especially so since I occupied my present post, as you may well imagine and fairly forgive. It makes me feel more grateful to you when from the present position I look back on my past of hardships and strenuous toil, and think of your kindnesses shown me all the while that I can never nor will forget. I can say so far that the state of things here in Nanking is improving rapidly with a well-founded prospect of future promise. I may not write you as often as I wish, but you may learn from the newspapers what I am doing from time to time. Kindly convey my best compliments to all my friends in London whom you know and happen to meet, and oblige,

"With best wishes and kindest regards,

"Yours very sincerely,

"Sun Yat-sen."

Sun gave his friends rather too hopeful an impression when he declared things in Nanking were improving rapidly, perhaps because it was important to spread in foreign countries the most encouraging view. The negotiations with the Manchus and Yüan went along slowly, for both parties were faced with a money problem. Sun wrote:

"Even before my arrival in Shanghai, all the foreign and Chinese newspapers were spreading widely the story that I was returning home with a large sum of money to help the revolution. . . . I replied that I had not brought with me a farthing; but had brought with me a revolutionary spirit."

The Republic managed, however, to borrow from Japan, giving as security a mortgage on the important ironworks at Hanyang.

Sun's action in stopping the Consortium loan from London placed the Manchu government in a quandary and by the end of January the generals of the Manchu army put the matter clearly to the Empress Dowager:

"All China is now in favour of a republic, including a majority of the princes. Only a few of the younger princes object, and they do not produce money to carry on the struggle. The morale of the soldiers is being destroyed, because they are not being paid. . . . We think it best for The Throne to accept the terms now offered and to abdicate immediately."¹¹

On February 12, 1912, the Emperor abdicated, various provisions being made for his future comfort, including an annual grant of four million *taels* "until the establishment of a new currency when the sum shall be four million dollars". One of the edicts of abdication said:

"From the preference of the people's hearts the Will of Heaven can be discerned. How could We, then, bear to oppose the will of the millions for the glory of one Family! . . . We, thus enabled to live in retirement, free from responsibilities and cares and passing the time in ease and comfort, shall enjoy without interruption the courteous treatment of the Nation and see with Our own eyes the consummation of an illustrious government. Is not this highly advisable?"¹²

The "illustrious government" was to be Sun Yat-sen's republic but under the presidency of Yüan Shih-kai. At once Yüan confirmed the edict by a telegram addressed to "President Sun, and the Nanking government". There may have been irony behind his words, "A Republic is the best form of government. The whole world admits this. That in one leap we have passed from autocracy to republicanism is really the outcome of many years of strenuous efforts

exerted by you all, and is the greatest blessing to the people," but at least there was a definite pledge from himself as future President. "Henceforth, forever, we shall not allow a monarchical government in our country."¹¹³

It is odd to recall that this baby Manchu emperor who was to "enjoy without interruption the courteous treatment of the nation" retired to the Japanese concession in Tientsin and in 1932 became the Japanese puppet ruler of Manchuria; and that his bitter but fickle opponent Wang Ching-wei also sold out to the Japanese in 1938.

On the same day as the abdication the "illustrious government", led by the Provisional President, Sun Yat-sen, enacted a drama which greatly surprised foreign observers. Immemorially the Chinese have "worshipped" their ancestors and many everyday customs, and, indeed, the whole system of family life, hinge on the idea that the spirits of departed persons influence current affairs and require ceremonies in their honour if they are to rest in peace. Confucius, Mencius and other philosophers laid considerable emphasis on the proper observance of such ceremonies. It will be remembered the Baby Emperor in his edict of October 30, 1911, after referring to the troubled state of China, said: "The spirits of our nine late emperors are unable properly to enjoy sacrifices". That statement was more than a reason for seeking an end to public disorders; it was an appeal to the conscience of the nation. The last purely Chinese dynasty, before the Manchu, was the Ming (A.D. 1368-1644) and now, in the moment of success, Sun Yat-sen and his revolutionary government made a formal pilgrimage to the mausoleum of the first Ming emperor. It was a remarkable sight. On a slope of the hills outside the city of Nanking there is an avenue of huge stone images of animals and warriors, leading to the tomb of Tai Tsu, the founder of the Ming dynasty. Up this avenue marched Sun Yat-sen and his republican friends in smart western-style military uniforms; with a small, but effective, military band playing trumpets and a big drum. They were followed by civil officials in western suits, crowds in Chinese dress and flag-bearers with the new republican flag. By the tomb at the end of the avenue stood a guard of honour with fixed bayonets.

After the usual sacrifice had been offered, a secretary made an oration to the spirit of the founder of the Ming dynasty. It began with praise for his valour and then stated: "But your descendants were degenerate and failed to carry on your glorious heritage; they entrusted the reins of government to bad men, and pursued a short-

sighted policy". This condemnation of the later Ming emperors is interesting because in his early propaganda Sun extolled the Mings, without qualification, and attributed all the disasters of modern China to the Manchus. It is the chief evil of propaganda that it must be concise.

The oration then recounted the seizure of power by the Manchus and their harsh government: "Alas for our Chinese people, who crouched in corners and listened with startled ears, deprived of power of utterance, and with tongues glued to their mouths, for their lives were past saving". After more of this blackening of the Manchu dynasty a new note was sounded: "The Chinese race of today may be degenerate, but it is descended from mighty men of old. How should it endure that the spirits of the great dead should be insulted by the everlasting visitation of this scourge? Then did patriots arise like a whirlwind, or like a cloud which is suddenly manifested in the firmament." The deeds of the patriots were told, a catalogue of failures, ending in success:

"An earthquake shook the barbarian court of Peking, and it was smitten with a paralysis. To-day it has at last restored the government to the Chinese people, and the five races of China may dwell together in peace and mutual trust. Let us joyfully give thanks. How could we have attained this measure of victory had not your Majesty's soul in heaven bestowed upon us your protecting influence? . . . We are initiating the example to Eastern Asia of a republican form of government; success comes early or late to those who strive, but the good are surely rewarded in the end. Why then should we repine to-day that victory has tarried long?

"I have heard that in the past many would-be deliverers of their country have ascended this lofty mound wherein is your sepulchre. It has served to them as a holy inspiration. As they looked down upon the surrounding rivers, and upward to the hills, under an alien sway, they wept in the bitterness of their hearts, but to-day their sorrow is turned into joy. The spiritual influences of your grave at Nanking have come once more into their own. The dragon crouches in majesty as of old, and the tiger surveys his domain and his ancient capital. Everywhere a beautiful repose doth reign. Your legions line the approaches to the sepulchre; a noble host stands expectant. Your people have come here to-day to inform your Majesty of the final victory. May this lofty shrine wherein you rest gain fresh lustre from to-day's event, and may your example inspire your descendants in the times which are to come. Spirit! Accept this offering!"¹¹⁴

When the ceremony was over Sun Yat-sen was speechless with emotion. After a few moments he spoke briefly of China's new freedom, and the western atmosphere was then recaptured with three cheers for the President of the Republic. An eye-witness said, "the cheering was

taken up by the crowds below, and then carried miles away by the thousands of troops, to mingle with the booming of distant guns".

Outside China this pageant at the famous Ming tombs seemed inexplicable. There were some who saw incongruity in a brand-new western constitution glancing back to an ancient eastern autocracy; they were impatient of the idea of informing a long-departed spirit of current events on the assumption that it might be still interested. Make-believe is even stronger in China than in England, but to the more literal western minds such behaviour seems childish. There were others, rejoicing that China now had a Christian president, who were checked in their enthusiasm because Sun countenanced what they regarded as a heathen ceremony.

It is probable Sun's motives in this matter were mixed. The ceremony made a strong appeal to Chinese who had grown up in a tradition of loyalty to the Mings. It appealed to the masses as an historical link with the last *Chinese* rulers and it gave a final blow to Manchu reputation, such as it was. These were political motives. To Sun the ceremony was not incompatible with Christianity—at least with his unorthodox Christianity. There was, of course, a great difference between this ceremony and ordinary "ancestor worship", but a similar belief lay behind both. Some time later Sun, speaking to his friend Linebarger, said: "I must confess the idea of using the sacred cult of ancestor worship as a political machine is very abhorrent to me. In fact, I think even the rashest fool would never attempt to use this intimate cult with its exclusively domestic privacy as a revolutionary instrument."¹⁵ In this comment Sun shows his Christianity did not exclude "ancestor worship". It is significant, too, that during Sun's short rule he issued orders encouraging the destruction of idols and idol temples. Many were, in fact, destroyed at this period especially in South China. The ardour with which Tai-cheong attacked the god Buck Tai was by no means spent!

It has been suggested by one critic that this pageant was, for Sun, "an act of intense emotional exaltation". Like every ceremony it had an emotional appeal and Sun undoubtedly experienced in it an outlet for his too-long suppressed emotions; but the pageant was not planned for that purpose! Its chief significance was in its deliberate turning back to the ancient customs of China. Sun had overthrown the forces of extreme conservatism in China and was in the process of opening the door to westernisation; it had, of course, been ajar: but his considerable knowledge of revolutionary history warned him the best from the past must be made secure if

a revolution is not to end in chaos. Already he had warned his colleagues of the failure of the French Revolution. To this extent Sun's visit to the Ming tombs was a conscious linking of events with the imperishable past of China; he would have his party know that the glorious future must be built on what had gone before. But it is also possible Sun's action was intuitive. He was not a religious mystic, but his mind had something of the mystic about it and, as we look back after some years and study the crises of his life, we cannot but feel that some of his decisions were accepted from the subconscious with a deliberate lack of scrutiny. There was no longer a "Sun of Heaven" and, with the loosening of ancient restraints, some hooligan revolt against *everything* old would occur inevitably. Sun felt this and, in the ceremony at the Ming tombs, clasped the hand of the past rather as the leader of a rescue squad saving a drowning man holds fast instinctively to the hand of the next man in the human chain stretching back to firm land.

THE REUNION OF A FAMILY

Sun Yat-sen had been married twenty-eight years and now, at last, it seemed as though he might make a home in his own country. In the tradition of Chinese family life, Ah Mi provided a home for his young brother's wife and children during the many years of Sun's exile. He also sent a considerable sum of money to a man who saved his brother's life—a Chinese way of showing the gratitude of the whole family for a service done to one of its members. From time to time Sun visited Honolulu, but the three children born in Choy-hung can have known their father only as a strange man who turned up, sometimes unexpectedly, and left again as suddenly after a stay that might be reckoned in days or, at the most, weeks.

The boy, Sun Fo, was educated at a Roman Catholic college in Honolulu and showed some aptitude for journalism. Later he went to the University of California but broke off his studies to return to China, with several other Hawaiian Chinese, to offer their services to the new Republic.

A few years earlier Ah Mi had given up his home in Hawaii, having made a substantial fortune, and settled in Kowloon—the little strip of British territory on the mainland of China opposite Hongkong. With his own household Ah Mi took his brother's wife and her two girls. This was before the revolution and it is possible the wandering father saw them there for brief periods during his

clandestine visits to Hongkong and South China. In Kowloon the sixty-years-old Ah Mi took up revolutionary work in support of his brother and his home became so notorious as a centre for revolutionists that the British authorities felt it necessary to order him to leave. The Sun family then moved to a French concession where Ah Mi ran the headquarters of the revolutionists from a drug-store and, later, to Macao. How far Ah Mi shared his brother's ideals; how much he believed that China needed a republic; or how far his activities at this time were influenced by a conviction that Sun Yat-sen would win in the end; and, in his hour of victory, would reward richly those who had supported him in time of trouble, cannot be determined but subsequent events showed he had some self-interest. He was regarded by Chinese and foreigners as honourable.

A letter from Sun Yat-sen to Mrs. Cantlie from The President's office tells of his reunion with his wife and children:

Republic of China,
The President's Office,
Nanking, March 12th/1912.

DEAR MRS. CANTLIE,

Your welcome letter of February 18th afforded me great pleasure, and it is indeed a delight to see the familiar hand-writing again. . . . I thank you for your earnest prayers offered in my behalf. I am glad to tell you that we are going to have religious toleration in China, and I'm sure that Christianity will flourish under the new régime.

I am going to Canton shortly and there try to convert the old city into a new and modern one.

My family is in Nanking with me. My son will return to America for his education, and I am contemplating sending my elder daughter along with her brother for the same purpose. If they should come to England I shall ask them to make it a point to call on you and the doctor.

I close this letter with my kindest regards and best wishes to you and Dr. Cantlie, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Sun Yat-sen.

Events made it impossible for Sun to settle down in Nanking or elsewhere and it was not long before Sun Fo returned to America accompanied by his two sisters; he to resume his studies at the University of California and the girls to attend a near-by school. A photograph of the time shows that Dr. Hager of Hongkong was in America and took an interest in the three children of his old convert.

For Mrs. Sun the months following the revolution were bewildering. The husband she married in filial obedience during the far-off Choyhung days was still a stranger. As a young wife she had observed the traditional obediences—to her boy husband and to

her mother-in-law. During Sun's college days she had seen him during his vacations; but after his graduation, when he became a revolutionist, she saw him still less and must often have waited months without news of him. Her married life had been spent with her husband's family and, though she lived for the most part in Hawaii, it had been in country places and she knew little of town life.

Now she was uprooted from the settled habits of a Chinese housewife and appeared beside her much-sought-after and honoured husband at all sorts of public ceremonies. The foreign-trained, foreign-dressed man at her side was an enigma, and what could be more puzzling for a countrywoman than all the strange happenings of the times? It was a new thing for a woman to appear in public life, with its sudden moves from one engagement to another, its hastily posed photographs, its unexpected clicking of cameras, interminable speeches and whispered asides. Those were days of outward change when every man with his queue cut off looked a different creature—and this change was as unexpected and visible as would be the effect in our own time if every Englishman abandoned his razor.

Mrs. Sun was tied now to an over-busy public man and at the same time her girls were taken from her for a foreign education. In private she, an uneducated country woman, had to mix with well-educated friends of her husband such as the Soongs; and to listen to talk of reforms, industrialisation, railway developments, foreign loans and local politics. Nevertheless Mrs. Sun was respected and liked by her new acquaintances. For some months she and her husband were in Shanghai and there they saw much of the Soong family.

Eling Soong, with her up-to-date American education, was a useful secretary to Sun and her father in their joint work for the republic. Once Eling escorted her mother and Mrs. Sun on a trip to Japan to visit a hot-springs resort, and there is a record of Eling and Mrs. Sun being involved in a motor accident.

Charlie Soong's second daughter, Chingling, graduated from her American college early in 1913 and wrote to one of her teachers: "I shall soon be on my way home. I am taking a box of Californian fruit to Dr. Sun from his admirers here, and I am also the proud bearer of a private letter to him." Chingling was one of those rather rare creatures—a girl who early shows an intelligent interest in ideas as distinct from persons, combined with a dreamy idealism. When she arrived home the Soong family were living in the French Concession at Shanghai and Sun Yat-sen, when he was not travelling, made his home with them.

PART SIX

A certain contemporary of Confucius was responsible for the administration of a state. He used to take people across two of the rivers in his own carriage.

Mencius said: "He was kind, but did not know how to govern. If the foot-bridges are ready for use in the eleventh month of the year, and the bridges for wheeled traffic in the twelfth month, the people will not be reduced to wading through the water. So long as the princely man rules impartially, he may have the populace cleared out of his path when he goes abroad. How can he help each person across individually? A governor who tries to please everybody will not find the day long enough for his purpose."

(*The Book of Mencius*, translated by Lionel Giles, John Murray, 1942, p. 75.)

SUN AND YÜAN

THE words "realist" and "idealist" have been so much knocked about of late that they have little breath in them. Nevertheless they describe conveniently, if a little summarily, the types to which Yüan and Sun belong.

Yüan was an efficient administrator, a good judge of other men and astute. He concentrated his attention on the task in hand and while not without ambition he never let "the brave music of a distant drum" drown the chink of "cash in hand"—a sound with which he must have been quite familiar. Sun on the other hand was not an administrator nor a good judge of men, nor was he astute. The popular notion that Sun was a "dreamer", an "unpractical idealist", is superficial, for, in fact, Sun showed more than common sagacity about many practical matters and his theories were, on the whole, sound. If his thought was always "how blest the paradise to come" he did not neglect the present. But he did err in judgment through an exalted faith in the righteousness of men and nations and when he found his trust spurned he was apt to show violent indignation. There were times, too, when Sun sketched the bold outlines of an idea without filling in any details and this vagueness made action on the lines Sun wanted difficult.

A struggle between Yüan and Sun for the vast prize of the soul of China was to last four years but it had begun as far back as 1908 when The Old Buddha died. Sun said: "After the death of the Empress Dowager I realised that Fate was playing into the hands of Yüan Shih-kai, who would be the arbiter of my country's destiny.

But I also knew he could do nothing without me." It is significant that these words were given to a journalist in London before Sun returned to China in 1911.¹¹⁶

Yüan, too, knew he could not do without Sun and in spite of Sun's rebuff to his overture in 1910 a time came when Yüan again sent a messenger to seek Sun's co-operation.

It is remarkable that as early as December 1911 a writer in the English *Fortnightly Review* already glimpsed the inevitable conflict between these two men. After describing Yüan's military prestige he wrote:

"If it is true that Dr. Sun Yat-sen is to be the first President of the new republic, he, as a civilian, will have some difficulty with the military authorities. At one time Yüan Shih-kai commanded a force which was superior to any other in China . . . if he persists in propping up the dynasty there will probably be a split, northern China remaining monarchical and the centre and south setting up a republic or republics. Such a settlement could not be permanent. . . ."¹¹⁷

The stopping of foreign loans made it impossible for Yüan to prop up the dynasty but he planned to go one better—establish his own dynasty, as had many another Chinese adventurer in the past. Meanwhile he rejoiced over the following formal message of Sun to the Nanking government, though he may well have disliked the emphasis on "unconditional adhesion to the national cause" and "a loyal servant to the State":

"To-day I present you my resignation and request you to elect a good and talented man as the new President. . . . The abdication of the Ching Emperor and the union of the North and South is largely due to the great exertions of Mr. Yuan. Moreover he has declared his unconditional adhesion to the national cause. Should he be elected to serve the Republic, he would surely prove himself a most loyal servant of the State. Besides, Mr. Yuan is a man of political experience, upon whose constructive ability our united nation looks forward to the consolidation of its interests. . . ."¹¹⁸

So Yüan received from Sun the high post of President of The Chinese Republic, but he took care to keep his capital in Peking where his personal influence was strong and where he felt secure with his own troops about him. When pressed to come to Nanking, which had been chosen by the republicans as the new capital, Yüan procrastinated and is strongly suspected of planning the riots which took place in Peking; and which finally induced the republicans to accept Peking as capital since Yüan's presence there was supposed to be necessary to prevent further disorders. In this matter Yüan

was supported by Li Yuan-hung who now held the post of Vice-President.

Meanwhile Huang Hsing, Wang Ching-wei and several other prominent revolutionists followed Sun into temporary retirement from active politics. There were various reasons for this. The old antipathy between north and south, probably fostered by Yüan, caused factiousness within the party, which had been reorganised under the name of *Kuomintang* or National People's Party to include other political groups. There was some feeling that Sun had been slighted. There was distrust of Yüan, for although Sun openly supported Yüan, and believed that with the limitation imposed on the President by the constitution he was the best leader for China, some of Sun's friends knew of the distrust shown in the London magazine article; and, besides, Yüan's early political career was sullied. There were some who reckoned that with the establishment of the republic their work was done and others who undertook administrative posts which kept them out of politics.

So within four or five months of the glorious Double Tenth the republic was largely under the control of men who did not share Sun's ideals: neither the President Yüan nor the Vice-President Li had the slightest interest in *The Three Principles of the People* which had been such a rallying point in the branches of The League of Sworn Brothers and which Sun expounded to the large audiences who gave him the funds with which he fought the Manchus. It is, however, true that The Three Principles were not known outside revolutionary circles until much later.

On March 3, 1912, Sun informed Dr. Cantlie of the progress of events and his letter shows he was by no means over-confident:

"... Now that I have resigned in favour of Yuan Shi-kai, since my work of revolution is completed, I hope to be relieved of office soon. But, I fear, things may yet take a less favourable turn and require my service a little longer. No doubt you have seen in the last two days' papers about the riot in Peking, this calls for the greatest attention and needs immediate action to prevent it to spread further. I hope however everything will resume its normal course before long."¹¹⁹

Another letter, this time to Mrs. Cantlie, written on March 12th, again emphasised the work that was yet to be done before China was saved:

"... It is true that the Tai Ching dynasty is 'a thing of the past', but the dethronement of the Manchus does not mean the complete salvation of China. We have an enormous amount of work ahead of us, and it must be

accomplished in order that she may be ranked as a great power among the family of nations."¹²⁰

There was no light optimism on the part of Sun, though in public utterances he very naturally spoke hopefully of his country's future.

After Sun handed over the government to Yüan he travelled in China, being received everywhere with the greatest enthusiasm. There were receptions, dinners, military parades and even special services in Christian churches. Sun spoke at these functions, outlining in brief what needed to be done to establish a stable government. Once he preached a sermon in a church on *The Mission of the Church in Rebuilding the Nation*. His gift of oratory was unimpaired and every audience was spellbound. An American who heard him spoke of his modesty; "he was not at all puffed up by his success."¹²¹

Yüan, in Peking, had a firmer hold than ever on the army and Vice-President Li was completely under his control; but all over China Sun Yat-sen could command huge audiences and by his eloquence ensured a certain moral quality in public judgments. Yüan, following old-style political methods, caused the execution of two prominent revolutionists without trial and there was a storm of indignation everywhere. Apparently Yüan invited the unfortunate victims to Peking to discuss public affairs and then allowed them to be arrested and murdered. At the same time he invited Sun and Huang Hsing to come to Peking. Sun's friends urged him not to go, fearing Yüan's treachery, but Sun was singularly fearless and went. It is said that Huang Hsing turned back even after going aboard the ship. It is not unlikely that Yüan did plan a *coup* that would rid him of the only men in China who stood between him and his ambition, but the storm of protest over the first executions and, possibly, the astonishing reception given to Sun by the Peking public, put the deed beyond his daring.

Yüan's strength lay in his position as President, his control of what armed forces there were, and the knowledge within China that he was trusted abroad and might obtain what China needed—foreign loans and recognition. The London *Fortnightly Review* remarked of Yüan, "he is not as universally acclaimed in China as in the western world. The panegyrics poured out on him have not always pleased Chinese readers who are a little tired of hearing that he is their 'one strong man'." Certainly the western world was ready to back Yüan against any other leader in China. On the other hand Sun's strength lay in the limitation of the President's powers under the constitution and in his own popularity with the masses.

Yüan schemed to overcome Sun by the accepted methods of the old Chinese diplomacy—flattery and bribery. He arranged to receive Sun in Peking with royal honours. Personal messages for Sun were sent by the retired Dowager Empress of the Manchus. The very Prince who years before visited America at the same time as Sun, and on whose account Sun had been detained by the American authorities on landing, now gave a banquet in his honour. For hours the patient and flattering Yüan listened to Sun's plans for the development of China. He agreed readily to Sun's scheme for railway construction and forthwith appointed Sun as Railway Director with a handsome monthly appropriation for the purpose. Doubtless Yüan expected Sun would enrich himself by these funds; that this money would go the same way as had the public money referred to in the former Emperor's edit: "On Railway matters someone whom I trusted fooled me . . . much of the people's money has been taken but nothing to benefit the people has been achieved." Sun, of course, was above bribery and was in earnest about the scheme but it was only too natural for the wily Yüan with his long experience of corrupt government to hope otherwise. There is a proverb, "Gold is tested by fire; man by gold".

After these interviews in Peking Sun issued a report for American readers in which he underlined the agreement between himself and Yüan. Sun felt Yüan would not now dare to break faith, he may even have had his earlier suspicions allayed, but it would be unreasonable to assume from this report for American consumption that there was any real confidence between the two men.

While in Peking, Sun addressed a great assembly of his fellow-Christians in the American Board (Congregational) Church. Admission was by ticket but three hours before the meeting people were arriving and the large church was packed. A report of the meeting spoke of Sun's "complete capture of Peking" and quoted these words from his address:

"Men say that the revolution originated with me. I do not deny the charge. But where did the idea of the revolution come from? It came because from my youth I have had intercourse with foreign missionaries. Those from Europe and America with whom I associated put the ideals of freedom and liberty into my heart. Now I call upon the church to help in the establishment of the new government. The Republic cannot endure unless there is that virtue—the righteousness for which the Christian religion stands—at the centre of the nation's life."¹²²

An article supplied by Sun to an American journal shows how he

was turning from the immediate political problem to social and economic schemes for China. After his visit to Peking, Sun set up his office of railway development in Shanghai. Imagination plays with the idea that he chose the cosmopolitan Shanghai rather than Peking or Nanking because, if a sudden crisis with Yüan arose, he would be within the safe zone of a foreign concession; but there may have been nothing more in the choice than convenience and the presence of his close friend Charlie Soong who became Treasurer of the Railway Commission.

It has been said of Sun that he was a poor administrator; but administration was never his role. Except for very brief periods Sun never administered anything. As time went on Sun's attention was concentrated more and more on social problems and in this American newspaper article his lifelong compassion for the undernourished and overworked masses of China comes again to the top:

"At present I am more interested in the social regeneration of my country than I am in questions of party and politics. Having finished the task of bringing about a political revolution, I am devoting my thought and energies to the reconstruction of the country in its social, industrial and commercial conditions. I have seen enough of the discord between capital and labour in Western countries, and the misery that besets the multitudes of the poor, that I am desirous of forestalling such conditions in China. With industrial development there comes an increase of manufacturing, and with the change of conditions there is a danger of widely separating the working classes and those who possess the capital. I wish to see the masses of the people improved in their conditions rather than to help a few to add power to themselves until they become financial autocrats."¹²³

Meanwhile there was trouble between Yüan and his Cabinet. The government needed money badly and hoped to borrow it from abroad. As always, the struggle between autocracy, for Yüan meant to make himself master of China, and democracy, for the republic was an embryo democracy, hinged on finance. The cabinet would not sanction foreign loans unless they had control over the expenditure and the foreign Banking Consortium would not lend to Yüan without his cabinet's authorisation. Rumours of discord spread, especially in America, and China could not afford to be in ill-repute. So Sun sent another encouraging report to an American newspaper, perhaps unjustifiably encouraging. It was aimed at "the enemies of the Chinese Republic" who spread false reports and at "foreign ill-wishers". Yüan was spoken of as "the strong, worthy leader of his people" and the Chinese were represented as united. The need for money was stated frankly and it was suggested that without a

large loan from abroad it would take "six or eight years, perhaps", for the country's finances to be put on a sound basis. Sun has been criticised fairly for the too optimistic tone of this newspaper article but it is reasonable to suppose that when it was sent, about the time of the Peking visit, Sun felt confident Yüan would be forced to accept the control of the cabinet and that while the republic retained financial control all would go well.

But Yüan was too astute for the inexperienced republican leaders. The appointment of prominent foreigners as advisers enhanced his reputation overseas as "the one strong man" in China. One of the foreign advisers, Dr. G. E. Morrison, who was Peking correspondent of *The Times*, had considerable influence in England and by his misunderstanding of Sun's character, a mistake which he later acknowledged to his great credit, did irreparable harm to China. Dr. Morrison's reports, perhaps more than anything else, besmirched Sun's name in England and encouraged the subversive activity of the Banking Consortium.

Early in 1913 Sun visited Japan. "I am here to study industrial conditions and the people, as well as to observe other things", was his evasive reply to a reporter. Just as the former exile returned to his native China to be received by the people with wild enthusiasm wherever he went; so, now, Sun who had been banned from Japan in recent years met with a tumultuous welcome. Three thousand Chinese students were at the Tokyo railway station to receive him and there were many meetings, receptions and feasts in his honour. After remaining in Japan for a month Sun returned to China. There was much newspaper speculation as to the real purpose of his visit, and all these years after the event we are no wiser.

The Chinese Republic had not yet been recognised by the Powers and the negotiations with the Banking Consortium were still dragging on. It is important to note that since the establishment of the republic in 1911 a fundamental change had been made in the Banking Consortium. Its political significance, as distinct from its simple banking function, was recognised by the Powers and because of this Japan and Russia had been admitted, thus bringing into the Consortium all of the six Powers with any considerable interests in China. The significance of the change was not overlooked by the Chinese who quite rightly judged that henceforth the policy of the Consortium was the policy of the Powers.

Under the Manchu régime China borrowed abroad on the security of the Maritime Customs Service which had been administered by

Sir Robert Hart, an Irishman, who served China well in the old days. The Banking Consortium now proposed to lend to the Republic on the security of the national salt taxes, known as the salt gabelle, provided these were brought under the foreign-controlled Maritime Customs Service. Very naturally the republicans opposed this. Had not Sun warned the Powers that the new China would be friendly to all nations but expected to be treated as an equal? Had not foreign interests in China, even those obtained from the hated Manchus, been respected by the Republic? So there was strong opposition to the conclusion of the loan on these terms. But the Banking Consortium remained adamant. Why should they lend without adequate security? The problem is recurrent in international loans and is still unsolved, though its solution is implicit in the Atlantic Charter. Yüan's desire to accept the terms was understandable. He had to govern and he needed the money. Some say a secret session of the National Council gave him authority to conclude the loan, though this is denied by others.

Meanwhile the National Council was in process of being superseded by an elected National Assembly who had full rights, under the constitution accepted by Yüan, to control all loans. Before the National Assembly could meet and while Sun was still in Japan, President Wilson of The United States of America intervened. He announced:

"The conditions of the loan seem to us to touch very nearly the administrative independence of China itself, and this administration does not feel that it ought, even by implication, to be a party to those conditions. . . . The responsibility on the part of our Government, implied in the encouragement of a loan thus secured and administered, is plain enough, and is obnoxious to the principles upon which the government of our people rests. The Government of the United States is not only willing, but earnestly desirous, of aiding the great Chinese people in every way that is consistent with their untrammelled development and its own immemorial principles. The awakening of the people of China to a consciousness of their responsibilities under free government is the most significant, if not the most momentous, event in our generation. With this movement and aspiration the American people are in profound sympathy. They certainly wish to participate very generously in the opening to the Chinese and to the use of the world the almost untouched and perhaps unrivalled resources of China. . . . Our interests are those of the Open Door—a door of friendship and mutual advantage. This is the only door we care to enter."¹²⁴

The American group of bankers withdrew. It is difficult to understand why the government of Great Britain did not follow the correct

attitude of America, though in fairness it must be said that at that date The British Treasury was less inclined to interfere with the activities of bankers than it is now. This excuse, however, ignores the fact that the Consortium had been reconstituted after 1911, and it is relevant to mention that in 1898 as a direct result of negotiations between the *governments* of Great Britain and China *private* British banks concluded a loan to China. The nice distinction, which is sometimes also a convenient distinction, that what the government does and what bankers do are different matters can hardly be sustained in this instance without a wobble.

If the American government saw the Chinese situation more clearly it must be agreed they had not to face the same practical difficulties as had the British government. American commercial interests in China were then small compared with British, and the "problem" of China was far more urgent in Whitehall than in Washington. If necessary America could afford to sit back and see what happened in China, but Great Britain was faced with the urgent need to back *some* Chinese government. As it happened they backed the wrong one. Fortunately the Chinese are a generous people with a large share of practical common sense and no longer doubt our choice was well-intentioned, if unlucky. Besides, in those distant days there was a good deal of "isolationism" in America, which made it difficult for other Powers to know how far the President's views on any particular point would be implemented.

A few days after the sensation caused by President Wilson's interposition, Chinese political circles learned with dismay that Sung Chiao-jen, who had been elected Prime Minister to curb the presidential power of Yüan, had been assassinated. It is true the unstable Wang Ching-wei continued his terroristic activities after his release from prison and that an attempt had been made on the life of Yüan but, on balance, Yüan seems to have used assassination too freely and there was now a storm of indignation which proclaimed itself in an amazing welcome to Sun on his return from Japan. The police of the International Settlement in Shanghai took special precautions apparently sensing, as did many Chinese, the underlying conflict between the realism of Yüan and the idealism of Sun and fearing that Yüan might make an attempt on Sun's life. But Yüan, though things seemed to be shaping his way, knew he could do nothing without Sun.

The newly elected National Assembly met on April 8, 1913, and Yüan's proposed loan was criticised. In spite of this Yüan

continued negotiations with the Bankers and on April 26th the obnoxious loan was signed on the premises of The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation at Peking. At the actual ceremony of signing, C. T. Wang, who later represented China at Versailles and was at one time General Secretary of the Y.M.C.A., broke in on the party; and, in the name of the Chinese people, denounced the loan as invalid since it had not been submitted to the National Assembly. Two days later the Senate passed a resolution to the effect that Yüan's action in signing the loan was unconstitutional and the contract in consequence null and void. The Chamber of Deputies passed a similar resolution.

By dictatorial methods Yüan had concluded the loan and was confident he could override the members of the National Assembly and anyone else in China—except Sun Yat-sen. With plenty of money he could strengthen his army and by bribery secure increasing support throughout China. Abroad he was accepted without question as master of the Chinese Republic and, no doubt, if he chose to establish his own dynasty no foreign power would object. Sir Frederick Whyte says “the recognition of Yüan Shih-kai probably seemed to the foreign offices of Europe a liberal gesture”.¹²⁵

But the astute Yüan, who rightly enjoyed a reputation as a judge of men, feared Sun. Hearing that Sun was about to issue a protest against the loan, Yüan again decided to send a messenger to him, as he had done in 1910. He chose Dr. Timothy Richard, now approaching his seventieth year: Sun might be influenced by a fellow-Christian, an Englishman and one who had spent a lifetime in the cause of education in China. One wonders if Yüan knew of the two previous occasions when these men met. In his account of the incident Richard agrees that Yüan “had not received the sanction of the parliament” for the loan, so that it seems a little strange he should have undertaken Yüan's mission but Richard had never favoured a republic and one cannot doubt his integrity:

“I was asked to see Dr. Sun and advise him not to send his protest abroad. As Yuan was now the head of the republic, the nation should show their confidence in him and not interfere with plans he considered necessary for the strengthening of the country. When I called on Dr. Sun he was in the act of reading the proof of his protest. He handed it over to me and asked me what I thought of it. I begged him not to publish it, but he would not listen to reason, and thereby ended his honourable career in China.”¹²⁶

The last sentence shows how little the great missionary understood Sun and later events show how wrong was his estimate of Yüan.

When the republic was proclaimed Sun expressed the belief that China would need a period of tutelage before full democracy could be worked, and the constitution made it clear that the guardian of the peoples' rights must be the revolutionary party, not an old-style politician. The weakness lay in the lack of experience of party members and Sun may have been disappointed and, in a sense, disillusioned by the bickering that went on in the party. He hoped Yüan, controlled by the party, would lend his experience to the Republic but it was now evident beyond all doubt that Yüan had his own ambitions. It may be that Yüan tried his best to work with the party but since he shared none of its ideals and was, at heart, a dictator a break sooner or later was inevitable. The very real problem of finance was the rock on which the republican ship foundered, as has many another good vessel.

It has been suggested that Sun was unduly critical in resisting Yüan over the loan since he himself borrowed from Japan on a mortgage of important ironworks, but there was a vast difference between the two transactions. One American critic makes the extraordinary suggestion that Sun and his friends should have accepted the Banking Consortium loan and tried to control Yüan's expenditure of it. Such arguments are, surely, answered to the full by the considered judgment of President Wilson. If the terms of the loan were "obnoxious" to the principles upon which the government of the United States rests, Sun Yat-sen was right to denounce them to the utmost of his ability.

While Dr. Richard was reporting to Yüan the failure of his mission, Sun sent his denunciation by cable to his old friend Dr. Cantlie—now Sir James Cantlie. It is dated May 2, 1913, and must be quoted in full:

"Submit on my behalf following appeal to British Government, Parliament, Governments of Europe, and give same widest publicity in all press. To Governments and peoples of foreign powers. As a result of careful investigation by officials appointed by Government to inquire into recent murder of Nationalist leader Sung Chiao-jen in Shanghai, the fact is clearly established that Peking Government is seriously implicated in the crime. Consequently people are extremely indignant, and situation has become so serious that nation is on verge of most acute and dangerous crisis yet experienced. Government conscious of its guilt and enormity of its offence and realising strength of wave of indignation sweeping over nation as direct result of its criminal deeds and wicked betrayal of trust reposed in it, and perceiving that it is likely to lead to its downfall, suddenly and unconstitutionally concluded loan for pounds 25,000,000 sterling with quintuple group despite vigorous

protests of representatives of nation now assembled in Peking. This high-handed and unconstitutional action of Government instantly accentuated intense indignation which had been caused by foul murder of Sung Chiao-jen, so that at present time fury of people is worked up to white heat and terrible convulsion appears almost inevitable.

"Indeed, so acute has crisis become that widespread smouldering embers may burst forth in devastating conflagration at any moment. From date of birth of Republic I have striven for unity, peace, concord and prosperity. I recommended Yuan Shih-kai for Presidency because there appeared reasons for believing that by doing so unification of nation and dawn of era of peace and prosperity would thereby be hastened. Ever since then I have done all I could to evolve peace, order, and government out of chaos created by revolution. I earnestly desire to preserve peace throughout republic, but my efforts will be rendered ineffective if financiers will supply Peking Government with money that would and probably will be used in waging war against people. If country is plunged into war at this juncture it will inevitably inflict terrible misery and suffering upon people who are just beginning to recover from dislocation of trade and losses of various kinds caused by revolution. For establishment of Republic they have sacrificed much and are now determined to preserve it at all costs. If people are now forced into life and death struggle for preservation of Republic not only will it entail terrible suffering to masses but inevitably also adversely affect all foreign interests in China. If Peking Government is kept without funds there is prospect of compromise between it and people being effected, while immediate effect of liberal supply of money will probably be precipitation of terrible and disastrous conflict. In name and for sake of Humanity which civilisation holds sacred I therefore appeal to you to exert your influence with view to preventing Bankers from providing Peking Government with funds which at this juncture will assuredly be utilised as sinews of war. I appeal to all who have lasting welfare of mankind at heart to extend to me in this hour of need their moral assistance in averting unnecessary bloodshed and in shielding my countrymen from hard fate which they have done absolutely nothing to deserve."¹²⁷

The jerky sentences of this cable are of first-rate importance to any understanding of Sun Yat-sen. They reveal his sound appreciation of the situation; his passionate feeling for the suffering people of his country; and his realisation that if the Consortium's gold reached Yüan, China would be plunged into a terrible and disastrous civil war. That his appeal went unheeded did not embitter Sun, but it shocked his faith in the integrity of the European Powers—especially Great Britain. From this time onwards the ugly word *imperialism* came into his speeches more and more frequently.

Cantlie did everything he could to influence opinion in England: and his measures were never half-hearted, but the daily papers refused his articles and were solid in backing Yüan, possibly because of the contrary influence of Yüan's adviser, Dr. Morrison of *The*

Times. Lady Cantlie boldly went to The Chartered Bank of India and afterwards wrote:

"I saw Mr. W. and showed him Mrs. Chang's telegram asking for our support of Sun Yat-sen. But he looked upon it slightly and said Sun was a poor thing. I felt the insult deeply, as at all events I could guess that these bankers only thought of their money."¹²⁸

In China the withdrawal of the United States from the Consortium was hailed, by all but Yüan Shih-kai's group, as an act of friendship. The American diplomatic representative in Peking afterwards summed up the matter thus:

"From the point of view of China, the action might present itself in the light of a refusal to join with others in placing upon the young republic the fetters of foreign financial control. Moreover the proceeds of the Reorganisation Loan were actually not used for the benefit of the Chinese people, but on the contrary this financial support fastened the personal authority of Yuan Shih-kai on the country and enabled him to carry on a successful fight against parliament. That body never gave its approval to the loan."¹²⁹

Feeling ran very high in China and "the widespread smouldering embers" turned to sporadic outbreaks. In June a small rebellion was suppressed by Yüan's faithful henchman Li. On July 2nd, Sun published a telegram to Yüan calling on him to resign:

"... Formerly you were invited to the Presidential office to bear the heavy responsibility of the country, and now you should leave it in order to save the country from being involved in trouble.

"... If you can follow my advice, I will persuade the soldiers and the people in the South and East to lay down their arms. ... If you reject my sound advice ... I shall adopt the same measures against you as those used against the absolute monarchy. I have made my mind up now. This is my last advice, and I hope you will consider it well."¹³⁰

There was no foolish boast in Sun's claim that he could persuade the people to lay down their arms. In the long run no-one else could do so; for the vision Sun so often conjured up in his speeches and propaganda, a vision of a happier China based on The Three Principles of the People, had taken firm hold on men's minds; and however successful Yüan might be with his dictatorship it could not stand forever against Sun's idealism. Yüan, fearing Sun's unarmed power, was slow to act and it was nearly three months after Sun's cable to Cantlie that Yüan cancelled Sun's official post as Director of Railway Development.

In July began what has been called "the second revolution". Huang Hsing went to Nanking, the old southern capital, which

declared its independence. Chiang Kai-shek, who was about to sail from Japan to Germany for further study, returned to China and joined in a "punitive expedition" against Yüan. A number of provinces joined the movement but the time had gone by when an insurrection against Yüan had any chance of success. Sun was accused of using the railway funds to help Huang Hsing's rebellion but Yüan had behind him the massive support of the foreign bankers.

Very soon the opponents of Yüan were fleeing for their lives. Sun Yat-sen, Huang Hsing and Chiang Kai-shek went to Japan and with Sun went the faithful Charlie Soong and his daughters, Eling and Chingling.

Yüan Shih-kai had broken China's first attempt at democratic government and was well on the way to achieve his ambition of reviving the rule of Emperors by founding his own dynasty. He compelled the National Assembly to elect him President for five years and celebrated his triumph in public on the revolutionists' "Double Tenth" in the year 1913. The function was attended by the Diplomatic Corps, and the "shadow" Republic received formal recognition by the Powers. "The world, America excepted, was betting not on a legislature but on a dictator."¹³¹ Those members of the Assembly who remained in China made an effort to curb the President's powers but Yüan expelled over three hundred, and the Assembly was left without a quorum. By January 1914 it was dissolved.

Yüan's temporary success was not due to his ability, though he by no means lacked ability, nor to any policy that was either sound or popular, but to the financial intervention of the Powers. The Far Eastern Research Secretary of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, in a paper published in London in 1939, wrote: "British policy—not uninfluenced by the views of the British finance houses which were actively concerned with Chinese loans—threw its weight on the side of the conservative elements in North China, and encouraged international loans for the support of the Peking régime." He also referred to the policy as "political miscalculation". Sir John Pratt describes the failure on the part of the Powers "to appreciate the strength of the nationalist movement in China" as "a defect"—a brilliant understatement which throws a light far across the darkness of a troubled past.

WHO WAS RIGHT?

Our judgment of Sun's behaviour after the Double Tenth depends to a very considerable extent on what interpretation we place on the dispute with Yüan over the Banking Consortium loan.

If we hold Sun and his companions to have been right in principle then their subsequent political actions are understandable and, even, reasonable. We can then ignore the elaborate hypothesis put forward by a critical biographer and widely repeated by those who oppose Sun's ideals, that Sun's character changed suddenly in the first few months of 1912 as a result of the blow to his pride caused by the success of Yüan. If Sun was wrong over the Consortium loan then we shall have to examine again this hypothesis, which not only involves a drastic and sudden change of character but has to be dressed up, somewhat, in ill-fitting facts.

Sir John Pratt, whose experience of China and at the Foreign Office commands great respect, complains in his book, *War and Politics in China*, that "many of the existing books on China, even if they state the facts correctly, often put a wholly false interpretation on them". As long as we uphold freedom of expression we must, surely, allow writers to interpret facts as they will, but in this matter of Sun and the Consortium *selection* of facts from the many clamouring to be employed is all-important. Although Sir John Pratt accepts full responsibility for the opinions expressed in his valuable and informative book his publishers rightly claim that they are based on "unrivalled knowledge" and we may take it they mirror his advice to the Foreign Office, tempered by subsequent reflection.

His reference to the Banking Consortium's loan and to President Wilson's protest is brief—disappointingly brief from our point of view. He agrees that the reconstituted Consortium "now came to be regarded by the Chinese with the deepest suspicion as an instrument for fastening foreign control upon China", but he does not mention that two days after the loan was signed the Senate condemned the procedure as unconstitutional by 107 votes to 64 and that a similar resolution passed the Chamber of Deputies by 223 votes to 149. It is possible the British Foreign Office did not learn of these adverse votes till much later, since having recognised Yüan they probably depended on him for most of their information, but this point is immaterial to our estimate of Sun.

Of Wilson's intervention Sir John Pratt says only "The Wilson

Administration disapproved the dollar diplomacy of President Taft and withdrew from the Consortium". It would be possible for a reader to infer from this brief reference that Wilson's disapproval was due to some party rivalry between administrations in America whereas Wilson said: "The conditions of the loan seem to us to touch very nearly the administrative independence of China itself. . . ."

The Banking Consortium loans resulted in a fundamental change in the Maritime Customs Service. For fifty years Sir Robert Hart administered this service with careful respect for the sovereign rights of China, but now the foreign diplomats became trustees of all customs revenue, releasing to the Chinese government only the surplus after payment of the loan interests. Sir John Pratt says, "One must avoid using strong language about this development because everything was done with the best intentions and with the consent and approval of all concerned, including the Chinese themselves"—that is to say, the Chinese who were kept in power by the loans: not Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek and the large majority of the National Assembly who voted against the loans. Writing of The Washington Conference that took place eight years after Yüan signed the original loan, Sir John Pratt remarks "nothing was done to restore the measure of control over her own affairs that China had possessed at the time of the Revolution". Eight years had taken a good deal from "the administrative independence of China".

Time gives us a big advantage in looking back over these events but it is not difficult to understand the great indignation of many Chinese and, in particular, Sun Yat-sen, over the action of the European Powers in financing Yüan. The newly-won Republican constitution may have been tottering but the knock-out blow came from the Banking Consortium and there was a very natural revolution from British policy.

Sun had been always too expectant of disinterested help from countries that were politically free. In his student days he admired and respected England and America and, although his first visit to the occident disillusioned him as to the social conditions in these countries, he believed very firmly in the freedom of their political constitutions. Had he not in his manifesto "To all friendly nations" asked them, with child-like trust, "to bear in patience with us the period of trial confronting us and our reconstruction work"? And now, within a few months, the very nations, excepting only America,

who claimed constitutional freedom for themselves, seemed to deny it to China.

A Chinese historian, of the *Kuomintang* party but by no means uncritical of Sun Yat-sen, says that the revolutionary leaders "did not realise that what the West wanted was not a China strong enough to withstand foreign aggression, but a strong man in China dependent on their support".¹⁸²

Beside this Chinese view, which is not altogether unreasonable, we may set the recent opinion of an English historian, Sir Frederick Whyte:

"When the recognition [of Yuan Shih-kai] was followed by the Reorganisation Loan and by Yuan's undertaking to respect the so-called 'unequal treaties', the Southern Party interpreted European action as backing Yuan 'the reactionary', against Sun Yat-sen 'the reformer'. The point, which is often made by Chinese Nationalists, is important because it has since become one of the chief counts in the Chinese indictment of the Treaty Powers."

Events, surely, show that Sun Yat-sen and Woodrow Wilson were right.

SUN AND CHINGLING SOONG

Shortly before the "second revolution" Sun's elder daughter, Yen (often known as Annie), returned from America to China. During the disturbed period when fighting again broke out she became seriously ill, and when it was necessary for her father to fly for his life she and her mother returned to the sanctuary of Ah Mi's home in Macao. There she died before the end of the year; but Mrs. Sun instead of rejoining her husband in Japan remained in Macao.

In Tokyo, where Sun and the Soongs and other revolutionists were beginning patiently to reorganise their broken political work, there was a certain Chinese of a famous branch of the family of Kung, temporarily managing a Chinese Y.M.C.A. in that city. He was in general sympathy with Sun Yat-sen and took an active part in the revolution. Kung knew Eling Soong, having met her a few years earlier at a party in New York. In Tokyo he renewed his friendship with the Soongs and within a year married Eling. When Eling gave up her secretarial work to marry Kung she suggested to Sun that her younger sister, Chingling, might take her place.

For nearly twenty years Charlie Soong had looked upon Sun Yat-sen as his ideal leader and had worked unstintingly for his

cause, never doubting its final triumph. Now, when he was well into middle age, he faced cheerfully the sudden disastrous turn of events, which called upon him to abandon his comfortable home in Shanghai, his business and all his worldly possessions. That he did so, and that he was known widely as a fine Christian gentleman, is not only to his credit but is important testimony to Sun's character. Chingling had grown up in the atmosphere of her father's devotion to the leader and counted Sun as almost one of the family. With her nationalism sharpened by schooling in a foreign country, she not unnaturally made her father's friend the subject of youthful hero-worship. Now she found herself, in the capacity of secretary, in the daily company of her hero.

Sun was busy reorganising his secret society and, once again, found it necessary to use a Japanese name. He had not done with dangerous work; for he, and Chiang Kai-shek and other leaders, slipped away sometimes—visiting China at the risk of their lives to rebuild the revolutionary party. "If Yüan catches you," said Chiang to a companion before the latter started on one of these secret journeys, "I shall live to carry out your work." These words were not spoken lightly, for soon afterwards the man was betrayed and assassinated.

Many bitter things have been said of Sun by his detractors but none deny he was brave. To the twenty-years-old Chingling Soong, now sharing his secrets as well as his ideals, these risky journeys to China were stirring and one can imagine her anxiously awaiting news of a safe return. One day, to the consternation of her family, Chingling announced her intention of marrying Sun Yat-sen.

The fact that all these people were living in exile, together with the extreme reticence of Chinese over personal and family affairs, has left a good deal of uncertainty about Sun's second marriage; but it is generally agreed that Mrs. Sun came from Macao to Japan, at her husband's request, and there agreed to a separation. The first marriage was a marriage of filial obedience between a village boy, then studying at a college in Hongkong, and an illiterate village girl—both parties to the marriage acting, in accordance with Chinese custom, on the instructions of their parents. She had borne him three children, but during the many years of his subsequent wanderings he had seen little of her and grown very far from her in knowledge, ideals and habits. The reunion in Shanghai after the revolution only emphasised these differences. According to a Chinese who knew Sun well, his wife "did not share his political ideals" and the

marriage was responsible for "a good deal of domestic unhappiness".¹³³ That Mrs. Sun agreed to a separation would be in accord with the tradition of Chinese wifedom and the innate dignity of Chinese women.

In *The First Wife* Pearl Buck tells of the tragedy that came to so many young couples during the days when Chinese students first went abroad for education: a young husband, married in his teens to the wife chosen by his parents, returns after seven years abroad as a student only to find he cannot share his widened life with his faithful but ignorant wife. A case can be made in support of the old Chinese marriage by parental selection, but there were thousands of these tragedies in China during the first two decades of the nineteenth century and it is not unreasonable to class Sun's amongst them.

Divorce has been known in China for centuries. *The Sayings of Confucius* allow seven reasons for which a man may divorce his wife but the Chinese are, in all matters, less concerned with exact law than with what is considered by public opinion to be morally right in any particular case. Sir John Pratt says: "The rigidity and absence of give and take, the lack of sympathy and of a broad and humane tolerance of human weakness which Chinese find in Western legal systems is very abhorrent to their spirit."¹³⁴ When divorce was resorted to it was done without any court proceedings or legal formalities though custom decreed complicated and exacting conditions that must be met. Far more common than divorce was the practice by which a man took a secondary wife, often because his first wife had not borne him a son; and a son was considered very necessary to maintain the appropriate worship at the family tombs. In such cases the first wife usually gave her consent and, even, encouragement; and she remained the only legal wife.

Sun Yat-sen had no legal grounds whatever for divorcing Lu Szu but he considered the mutually agreed separation sufficient. In this he may have found some self-justification in his knowledge that in America such separations are common and obtained easily.

The marriage with Chingling, who is now known always as Madame Sun, took place, probably, on October 25, 1915, and Chingling, writing soon after to a friend who had been at school with her in America, referred to the wedding thus:

"It was the simplest possible, for we both hate surplus ceremonies and the like. I am happy and try to help my husband as much as possible with his English correspondence. My French has greatly improved and I am now able to read French papers and translate by sight easily. So you see marriage

for me is like going to school except that there are no 'exams' to trouble me."¹²⁵

When the news of Sun's second marriage got into the foreign papers, early in 1916, it created a sensation. Non-Christian Chinese regarded it with disfavour, as contrary to Chinese ethics, though they would have said nothing if Sun had followed the fairly common practice of wealthy Chinese and taken one or more concubines. It is recorded that when rumours of the impending marriage leaked out some of Sun's friends met and sent one of their number to try to dissuade him. Sun was, at all times, very companionable and had a way of inviting a friend or colleague to sit with him: sometimes the two would talk but often there was silence between them. One Chinese, who worked with Sun and often sat with him in this fashion, told the writer that even when no words were spoken he would gradually become aware, in some mystic way, of a quality of friendliness or loving kindness which seemed to emanate from Sun. But the candid friend who called on Sun to try to persuade him against his second marriage had no success. In the presence of Sun the carefully chosen words seemed impertinent and his silence was so gloomy that his host asked what ailed him. Making an excuse that he felt unwell the friend escaped, "with a lump in his throat", his task shirked.

Because both Sun and the Soongs were Christians, the marriage was even more distasteful to Chinese Christians and to missionaries and there were times when Sun and Chingling faced only half-concealed disapprobation. It did not, however, break their friendship with missionaries nor was it the end of Sun's active Christian work. It may be true his name meant less thereafter in Christian propaganda, but the point has been exaggerated. It is recorded, for example, that he "was no longer sought as a speaker in churches and missions", the writer presumably overlooking the fact that Sun was no longer in China and could not speak Japanese! Later, when he returned to China, he sometimes spoke at Christian institutions and in 1923 addressed a National Convention of the Y.M.C.A.

For Mr. and Mrs. Soong the marriage was an unhappy event. Mrs. Soong was the daughter of a man named Nyi, the first Chinese in North and Central China to be ordained as a protestant pastor, and she grew up in a strict Christian home. Moreover she and her husband had earned, long since, a reputation in their own rights, as Christians of high standing who could be relied upon to show an example to others. They did so now; for, while they clearly dis-

approved of their daughter's marriage to Sun, they made no outward display of their sorrow and Charlie Soong continued his intimate work with Sun for the liberation of China.

Sun's second marriage was made much of by political opponents and has been condemned harshly by detractors. One well-known writer on Chinese affairs asserts that "while professing Christianity" Sun "practised polygamy"; and supports this view by grossly distorting the words of Bishop Restarick, one of Sun's biographers. Others magnified the matter by solemn words. Lyon Sharman says the second marriage "was not brought to any church court or judiciary"—as though it would be!—and then adds:

"Careful investigation of the facts makes it possible, here and now, to send to the discard another myth about Sun Yat-sen—the frequently circulated report that he was excommunicated from the Christian Church. His name was never stricken from the roll of the church into which he was baptized."¹³⁶

Such an absurd report hardly needed careful investigation!

Since Bishop Restarick's opinion has been so misused, it is worth quoting his very fair conclusions:

"One can comprehend, from the standpoint of human nature, how easy it was for him to fall in love with this educated and refined woman who understood him and his aims; but from the point of view of Chinese custom and ethics, his action was wrong. With his professed religious belief, he ought to have had respect for the Christian ideals of marriage. But the facts, as far as they could be ascertained, show that his action was not essentially different from that of thousands of men and women in Christian America."¹³⁷

The second marriage has been described by one of Sun's Chinese colleagues as an ideal union in every respect. Madame Sun shared her husband's interests, his aims and ideals and was his constant companion. As the letter to her former school friend shows she was quick to study in order to help with his work; and she collaborated with him in books and articles on political subjects.

THE SECOND EXILE

It has been said that the years from 1913 to 1916 are "ignored by the heroising biographers", but it is at least as true to say that these years of further exile have been seized upon by the critics on account of their sensational press stories and documents of doubtful historical value. Sun was again using a Japanese name and living in secret quarters so that newspaper men in search of copy were glad

to report any rumour. Yüan still feared Sun's influence, especially in South China, and it is significant that the press of North China and foreigners resident in North China are the main sources of the adverse comments quoted by the critics. Yüan circulated two biographies of Sun, one entitled *A Small History of Sun Wen* and the other *Sun Wen, Thief of the Nation*. Even one of the severe critics of Sun finds these books "scandalous" and they, doubtless, had the intended effect of spreading false stories to his disrepute.

In 1916 Sun was fifty years old, an age when a man's thoughts may become deeper but, hardly, broader. That he spent so many years expounding his ideas to small groups and large mass meetings must have embedded these ideas in his mind and cut deep channels into which his subsequent thoughts tended to flow. But although he repeated again and again the same theories, he so often gave them a new slant to meet changing circumstances that their underlying consistency may be easily missed. It has been pointed out that his constant travelling, combined with his diligent study of the history and social conditions of the countries he visited, gave him "such a first-hand knowledge of the world as few living men possessed".¹³⁸ And, again, that he "read widely, more widely perhaps than any contemporary political leader of the first rank except Woodrow Wilson, in the literature of Western political science".¹³⁹

After the Double Tenth it was Sun's intention to leave practical politics and spend the remainder of his life working out schemes for the industrial development of China and putting in final shape his *Three Principles of The People* and other theories of government. But he was moved always by a deep sense of patriotism and, although his incursions into practical politics were often fraught with danger and were in some ways contrary to his personal interests, he could not keep out of things when he believed them to be going wrong. His defiance of Yüan was on a matter of principle and it brought him back into the political vortex.

The experience of the first year of the Republic hardened Sun's conviction that he had a destiny to fulfil and that none of his comrades was so likely as he to complete the liberation of China. Loud as he was in condemning the European Powers for their part in the failure of the Republic he realised his own party's responsibility for that failure:

"To a considerable extent this results from my inability to influence my party comrades and, apparently, my incapacity to guide them. But, on the other hand, my party comrades also cannot escape the reproach of insufficient

conviction and effort in the realisation of our revolutionary ideals and the carrying out of our revolutionary programme. As for the causes of their loss of heart, they do not all spring from the temptation of place and profit: their efforts slacken rather from their mode of thought."¹⁴⁰

It will be remembered that when Sun returned to Shanghai after the Double Tenth he accepted the plans already determined by his comrades with some hesitation and they rejected his scheme for a temporary military government. Early in 1915 one of the party leaders wrote an open letter entitled "Who was right?" in which he said: "I want to wipe out my old mistakes and set forth all the history of our attacks on Sun Yat-sen". The letter deals in detail with various ways in which the authority of the leader had been flaunted. Some passages will illustrate the general argument:

"... There also exists the opinion that Sun Yat-sen is a great idealist, and this prejudice greatly hindered the application of his ideas; this is used as a reproach against Sun Yat-sen, this is made use of by his enemies to attack him. But all the facts of the past indicate that the biggest defeats suffered by our Party arose from the fact that we failed to appreciate Sun Yat-sen's ideas, considered them unattainable, and rose up against them. Thereby we brought about our own defeat. ... Sun Yat-sen was placed in the position of a man with hands tied, unable to carry out his plans, while the State was in a very dangerous condition. All this because we stubbornly maintained a wrong point of view and distrusted the fundamental principles of Sun Yat-sen. ... We admit that we rejected them for extremely varied reasons: but I consider the most important of all to have been the insufficient political intelligence of the members of our Party. In consequence of this we did not support Sun Yat-sen's programme and political plans. ... Therefore Sun Yat-sen was profoundly right in supposing that we must submit to a single leadership, in order to achieve unity of action and the proper distribution of functions. This was needed, not in order to oppress anyone, but in order to put an end to the self-willed acts of many comrades. ... Otherwise if there are comrades who oppose Sun Yat-sen in the future in the same way as he was opposed in the past, in the future also all the plans of Sun Yat-sen will suffer the same defeat. Therefore my opinion is that to keep our oath to the revolution and to obey the instructions of Sun Yat-sen is our direct obligation."¹⁴¹

It seemed clear to Sun that a new start must be made and this time he insisted on a closer loyalty to his leadership. So while Yüan was consolidating his position in China by stamping out rigorously all traces of the revolutionists who created the republic of which he was president, Sun Yat-sen, in Japan, set about the reorganisation of the party. Candidates for membership took an oath of loyalty, signing a pledge to that effect with a finger-print seal. All officers

were directly responsible to Sun as the supreme head of the party. There were some who disliked this loyalty oath, including, it is said, Wang Ching-wei and Huang Hsing. They felt their loyalty to the cause beyond question and so evaded the issue by travelling abroad. Many who joined the earlier League of Sworn Brothers remained aloof, or continued to serve Yüan in China, and there is little doubt Sun's reorganisation failed to recapture the enthusiasm of his earlier revolutionary societies. Except for secret visits to China, Sun did not leave Japan but he did not overlook the importance of cultivating Chinese opinion abroad. In 1914 he sent Lin Sen to America where for two years this future President of the Chinese Republic directed Sun's propaganda amongst Chinese nationals. On the whole Sun's efforts to revive the spirits of his defeated party were not successful, though his own confidence remained unshaken.

Yüan was more fortunate. There were in China many westerners who loved "Old" China, by which they did not mean the indestructible culture of Confucius, Mencius and the other sages but life in the legations at Peking or the diluted China of the Concessions, and it was only natural they should dislike a republican form of government. They were content with the China they loved; and if something *must* be done to better the lot of the three hundred and fifty million farming folk who, as it was said, scratched a hungry living from their ten *mow* farms, they considered it should be done at wheelbarrow pace. To change The Middle Kingdom into The Middle Republic had been altogether premature and the mistake should be rectified.

There were, too, a few important occidentals whose love of China derived from scholarship: men steeped in the Chinese classics and the vast heritage of Chinese culture. To such the republic was an anachronism. In spite of Sun Yat-sen's spectacular visit to the Ming tombs and the work of some scholars who supported the republic, the rank and file of the revolutionists reacted against nineteenth-century Confucianism and paid scant respect to what they considered obsolete classics.

"Alas, alas, that the ears of common men
Should love the modern and not love the old."¹⁴³

So the few scholarly westerners found themselves on the same side as their politically-minded countrymen, backing Yüan against Sun. These foreigners, for the most part, never saw the twofold vision of Sun Yat-sen; a China politically free, but not, of course, in-

dependent of other countries, for Sun was never an isolationist; and a measure of social security for the masses.

Yüan Shih-kai could, then, count on the full support of most of the foreigners in China. After all they were but following the lead of their governments who had "recognised" Yüan. The advisers appointed by Yüan, including Dr. Morrison of *The Times* and a certain Dr. F. J. Goodnow from an American University, added prestige to Yüan's government and it would have been strange indeed if the westerners then in Peking and Shanghai had not sided with Yüan against the exiled and, apparently, discredited Sun Yat-sen. Much of the dislike and prejudice against Sun comes from this period and this source.

In justice to Yüan it should be said that at first he may have tried sincerely to make the republic work. He certainly loved China and was just as concerned as Sun Yat-sen at the evils which befell her. He did notable work in combating the opium evil. His failure was due partly to the fact that he never understood the ideals which called forth the republic, and partly to his own insatiable ambition. We have seen, too, that Sun accepted some responsibility for the failure. Yüan's major mistake was that when the first difficulties became apparent he reverted to the old methods, to which he had been bred, and he allowed his ambitions full rein.

As early as the beginning of 1914, Yüan got Dr. Goodnow to draft what was called the "Constitutional Compact", promulgated on May 1st of that year, which gave him the power of a dictator, including the right to create nobles. A few months later a Succession law made it possible for him to control virtually the election of his own successor. This law provided a comical ritual, of the kind we read about in the plots used by Shakespeare; the president selected three names, locking them in a golden casket to be unlocked by an Electoral College after his death or incapacity, from which his successor must be chosen. The three names might be those of his own sons or other members of his family.

These moves towards a dictatorship aroused great indignation in China in spite of the fact that Yüan had, to some extent, tamed those revolutionary leaders who did not go into exile with Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek, Wang Ching-wei and Huang Hsing. The influence of Sun still haunted Yüan and his ambition drove him from post to post along the road to ruin. Later in the year he revived the ceremonies at the Altar of Heaven. For centuries it had been the custom for the Emperor to go once a year to this beautiful

building and there, in his capacity of Son of Heaven, offer to God on behalf of all the people a sacrifice expressing their homage to the giver of all life. The rite was monotheistic, regardless of the fact that most Chinese worship also the many gods of Taoism and Buddhism. Never before had the sacrifice been offered by any other than an Emperor and the significance of Yüan's act was not lost on the Chinese people. By many it was resented and all saw in it a step towards a new monarchy.

Events in China began to be influenced considerably by the world war which started in 1914. On January 18, 1915, Japan served on Yüan the infamous Twenty-One Demands. Japan had an old grudge against Yüan but she had no desire to see a democratic republic so close to her own feudal state, and it is said that with the Twenty-One Demands was a promise to assist Yüan in his desire to become Emperor of China in return for his support of Japanese claims. Other reports suggest Japan was opposed to Yüan's monarchic aspirations, but those who fish in troubled waters do not usually make their intentions clear and the very limited support the Japanese gave the revolutionists at this time may have been intended to worry Yüan into acceptance.

Japan's Twenty-One Demands were opposed by Britain and with this diplomatic support Yüan was able to resist part of the demands, the rest being accepted by him on May 25th. "The acceptance of the shameful Twenty-One Demands . . . must be laid at the door of President Yüan," wrote a Chinese historian in 1942,¹⁴³ and it is certain the efforts of Sun and others to stir up a new revolution were helped by a widespread fear in China that Yüan would sell the independence of China in order to buy a throne for himself.

Sun in a letter to Mrs. Cantlie compares the "greed for power and self-interest" of Yüan with the same characteristics in the German Kaiser. The observation is interesting because of an entirely independent remark of the American diplomatic representative at Yüan's court. He wrote of Yüan: "I felt also the almost ruthless power of the man. Republican in title he was but an autocrat at heart. All the old glittering trappings of the empire he had preserved . . . he had no real knowledge or conception of the commonwealth principle of government. . . . His one foreign language significantly enough was German which he acquired when he was minister in Berlin."¹⁴⁴ Yüan's political adviser, Dr. Goodnow, was also a German-trained man, having studied Constitutional law in that country.

Sun's letter to Mrs. Cantlie is dated March 19, 1915, from Tokyo:

"MY DEAR MRS. CANTLIE,

"I wish to tender my grateful thanks for your letter of February 17th. I can readily see how busy you are at this time, and sympathise with the mothers of England fully. I am busy putting my whole energy into my work, but at present it does not seem that we can commence our operations as soon as we planned. Owing to the intervention and the conservative influence of the English Government, the Japanese Government fears to show us friendliness. But we are working independently of them and feel assured of success. You can be of great help to me in England by enlightening the public that by helping Yuan Shih-kai England is indirectly but surely advancing the interests of Germany, for Yuan Shih-kai is the exact prototype of the Kaiser in his tyrannical attitude and in his greed for power and self-interest. Yuan Shih-kai is pro-German through and through, and, if Germany comes out victorious in this war, then China will surely become Germany's dependency. England will not only not gain anything by befriending Yuan, but will certainly lose ground she has already gained in China. You must make this quite clear to your people; that Yuan Shih-kai is pro-German. England has my deepest sympathy in this war. It is indeed deplorable to realise the countless losses of English youths daily, and all this bloodshed and suffering forced upon her by a greedy, grasping power.

"With best wishes to you and Doctor Cantlie,

"I am,

"Yours sincerely,

"Sun Yat-sen."

Yüan's next move was to obtain from Dr. Goodnow a memorandum which that expert in Constitutions began with the following remarkable words, "A country must have a certain form of government, and usually the particular form of government of a particular country is not the result of the choice of the people of that country". The conclusion that "the monarchical system is better suited to China than the republican system" required some elaboration, coming as it did from a citizen of the Republic of the United States of America, and Dr. Goodnow wrote: "had General Washington—the leader of the Revolutionary Army—had the desire to become a monarch himself, he would probably have been successful. But Washington's one aim was to respect Republicanism and he had no aspiration to become king. Besides he had no son capable of succeeding him on the Throne."¹⁴⁵

Following Dr. Goodnow's lead came a pamphlet, *Constitutional Monarchy, or the Salvation of China* and the formation of a League to support Yüan's bid for the throne. Then came a sham refer-

He made no allowance for the preoccupation of the British government with the war in Europe and the inevitable tendency to let Far Eastern affairs look after themselves, but it is rather striking that this letter, which was not made public until 1939, expresses the fear that Britain was earning the enmity of the younger generations of China by backing Yüan to the very end. The Far Eastern Research Secretary of The Royal Institute of International Affairs, in a recent publication, confirms that British policy of this time "alienated the radical party in Canton, thus laying the foundations of the anti-British outburst which occurred in the following decade".¹⁴⁶ As another writer with long experience of China puts it, "the dreams of Sun Yat-sen have had a strange habit of proving themselves true".¹⁴⁷

By the middle of March 1916 the revolt against Yüan was widespread, and on March 22nd he finally renounced the throne and endeavoured to reinstate a republican government. Meanwhile a rival government was formed in Canton which took the line that Yüan ceased to be President when he proclaimed himself Emperor and that his place was taken automatically by the Vice-President Li Yuan-hung. Li, however, refused the invitation to join the Canton government and to the last stuck to Yüan, possibly because it would have been dangerous for him to leave Peking.

On May 15th Sun issued a declaration from "The Intelligence Department of the Republican Government of China, Shanghai". How far he was in touch with Liang in Canton is uncertain but this declaration was evidently a bid to make clear his own position in the confused state of Chinese politics at that moment. His declaration made public what he had done from his Japanese headquarters in the way of reorganising the revolutionist party: "In the course of the last two years I have secured many adherents, including some in the interior of China. All are working unswervingly. . . ." He expressed his gratification that the revolt of Liang in Yünnan revealed "we are not the only men who are zealously striving for liberty", and he stressed the need to vanquish finally "the traitor" Yüan. As it happened no further action against Yüan was necessary, for the old warrior was near his end.

This final revolt against Yüan began in the far west of China and it was good tactics on the part of Sun to raise his standard once again in the east, but he certainly exposed himself to the criticism that his efforts during the second exile were largely futile and that now, when Liang met with some success, he was eager to share the glory.

Sun not only acknowledged the part played by other revolutionists. In his *Memoirs* he wrote:

"Not only we, the Chinese revolutionaries, but the foreign Powers also presented a note of protest against the restoration of the monarchy: and this was one of the principal reasons why the monarchy of Yuan Shih-kai collapsed."

But the Powers moved only when they saw the whole of China seething with resentment and this resentment was to a large extent the fruit of Sun Yat-sen's idealism.

Yüan died on June 6, 1916—"of a broken heart," says Sir John Pratt, who was Consul-General in North China during Yüan's reign, but other authorities are less charitable and ascribe his death to disease.

SUN AND JAPAN

On June 20, 1914, *The North China Herald* published an anonymous letter from a man who claimed to have been a revolutionist for twelve years and who hinted at a serious disagreement with Sun—"that I am still alive after what occurred last year is miraculous". With this letter he sent what he declared to be a letter from Sun to "a high personage in Japan". This long letter is a plea for Japanese support of China, through the republican party, and for close co-operation in diplomacy and economics.

In the main the proposals outlined are fundamentally sound. It is argued that China and Japan as neighbouring oriental countries have much in common. Japan could help China considerably—she was, in fact, helping China already by training thousands of Chinese students every year. And in the economic sphere China could supply Japan with badly needed raw materials in return for badly needed manufactured goods. An agreement on tariffs would be beneficial to both countries.

Japan was warned that her future rested, to a considerable extent, on friendly relations with the Chinese people and that if she supported Yüan against the wishes of the people the future relations of the two countries "can never be as satisfactory as they should". There were, however, certain important details in this letter which, taken literally, would have been inimical to China. Critics have enlarged upon these and made them the basis of an attack on Sun, suggesting this "offer" was tantamount to selling China to Japan.

An anonymous document is poor evidence under any circum-

stances. This letter was published in a North China newspaper at a time when Yüan's scandalous "biographies" of Sun were circulating, which adds to our doubts. It includes a suggestion that Japan could help China to "reorganise" her religion and admits the revolutionists could not reform China's administration—ideas which are quite alien to Sun Yat-sen. It is likely this letter is a forgery, just one of the many attempts at this time to discredit Sun; or it may be subtle Japanese kite-flying propaganda; but there is a bare possibility that a Japanese drafted the letter and obtained Sun's signature to it. Improbable as this seems we cannot overlook that Sun did occasionally put his signature to articles written for him which contained mis-statements he did not trouble to correct. If the letter is genuine, it must be the work of some associate of Sun, possibly a Japanese friend, which Sun signed, being in agreement with the general suggestions for close co-operation between the two countries, and considering it as a basis for possible negotiations and a bait to the "high personage in Japan".

Anonymous documents were popular in North China during Yüan's reign. Two others, published in April 1915, are supposed to be agreements between some of the revolutionists and a Japanese trading company. The first has been attributed to Sun, because a loan from the Japanese merchants was to be secured by bonds issued by Sun. It is known Sun issued paper money in one form or another, both before The Double Tenth and after, but it is an assumption to suppose he was a party to an agreement because his bonds were to be used. With this document was another, just as anonymous, purporting to be a loan agreement between one of Sun's party, but not Sun, and a company with the extraordinary name of The Europe and Asia Trading Company.

The terms of both these alleged agreements amounted to almost "unconditional surrender" of those parts of China "occupied by" the revolutionary armies. Neither document was signed and neither is dated, although one states "the foregoing fifteen articles have been discussed several times between the two parties and signed by them in February". No year is mentioned. It should be noted these two agreements were supposed to have been concluded with Japanese business concerns, but it is extremely difficult to believe any business man in Japan, commanding the sums of money involved, would have been content to lend anything at all on the strength of such unbusiness-like documents. One has only to compare them with the wording of The Twenty-One Demands to be convinced on this point.

The anonymous letter and these two anonymous agreements fascinate writers who are anxious to prove that Sun Yat-sen was either a traitor willing to sell his country for the sake of personal fame, or a simpleton who did not realise the rights he was signing away. The subject produces such sensational chapter titles as "China for sale—to Japan" and "Japan's demands as served on Sun Yat-sen". It would be nearer the mark to suppose the agreements to be some Puckish joke scribbled by a European to pull the leg of a journalist! The evidence is against accepting as genuine any of these anonymous publications, the letter being the least improbable, and no-one would give them a second thought if it were not that Sun's attitude to Japan was mistaken—although not in the way some critics suppose.

At one time or another Sun spent several years in Japan, though he never learned the Japanese spoken language, and he received much sympathy from Japanese Liberals and other progressives. Many Japanese welcomed The Double Tenth almost as vociferously as did the thousands of Chinese living in Tokyo; although the Japanese government were so surprised and alarmed by the event that they made secret overtures to England in favour of intervention in support of the Manchus. The Liberal premier Inukai, who in 1932 was assassinated by army officers on account of his conciliatory attitude, said:

"For a time Sun Yat-sen lived with me. My house was a secret meeting place for the revolutionists. Often they shared my food and clothes and even my meagre income. None could have been more jubilant than I was, when the new republic sounded the knell of the Manchu dynasty."¹⁴³

Sun was misled by the manifestations of public sympathy for his revolutionary cause and overestimated the influence of his progressive Japanese friends. He saw clearly the political and economic interests of China and Japan were complementary—that each could help the other and that in the long run failure to work together could only devastate China and destroy Japan. Sun was too ready to suppose the Japanese government shared his vision.

Chiang Kai-shek, who was in Japan with Sun during the second exile, in a message to the peoples of The United Nations dated July 7, 1943 observed, "If we were to trace Japan's conduct in China further back through the last six hundred years we should find countless instances of aggression". This truth was far less obvious in 1914 and Chiang probably shared his leader's faith in the general friendliness of the Japanese people. Certainly Sun believed that Japan

had "modernised" her administration and had no idea of the crazy ambitions of The Black Dragon Society nor of their power over the façade-democracy of Japan. "We must wait," he said, "for the official history of the Chinese Revolution to record in greater detail the invaluable work of our Japanese friends."

During the many years of the Chinese revolutionary movement there were several changes of government in Japan and these governments did not pursue a fully consistent policy towards Sun and his friends. This is not surprising, for Japan, well aware of her growing strength in international affairs, was yet obliged to move warily. Moreover Japan's self-interests were conflicting. Her expanding industries found a valuable market in China, but it was very largely in South China, the home of the revolutionists. Conflicting with this economic interest was a political one: the Japanese autocracy dared not allow a successful republican democracy so close to her own shores. Her politicians have dreaded always what they call "dangerous thought" and have guarded their docile people from contacts with such disturbing creatures as socialists and communists. They were much concerned lest Sun's revolutionists should contaminate Japanese thought. In the long run this factor has been decisive in Japanese policy since the beginning of the twentieth century; it was this fear that provoked the aggression manifest in The Twenty-One Demands.

Sun's letter of March 19, 1915, to Mrs. Cantlie, quoted in the last chapter, shows he thought the unfriendliness of the Japanese government was due to the influence of the British government. The sentence "We are working independently of them" is evidence that Sun was out of touch with government circles in Japan. The letter reveals also that Sun had not even learnt of The Twenty-One Demands served secretly on Yüan Shih-kai two months earlier. Sun believed the Japanese government were unfriendly to the revolutionists because the British government were still backing Yüan; but, in fact, the British government were trying to moderate Japanese demands on Yüan.

Sun admired the vigour of the Japanese in following western ways and, although he made it clear he considered the Japanese as generally inferior to the Chinese, he quoted them as an example in this matter of "modernising". About the time the world war of 1914-1918 was drawing to a close Sun expressed this view of Japanese progress:

"Japan is one of the strongest Powers in the world. Her people have given up their old prejudices, they have learned the lessons of the West, reformed their administration, created an army and fleet, organised their finances and have done all this in the space of fifty years."¹⁴⁹

This opinion of Japan would have been endorsed by many western "realists"; if not as early as 1918, then at least ten years later. But Sun added the astute and profound observation that Japan copied western civilisation "without understanding its purpose". The whole tragedy of Japan is summed up in the remark. She failed to understand the civilisation she copied and supposed a façade-democracy was, in fact, democracy.

Sun Yat-sen saw this Japanese error but unfortunately he did not think it serious. He believed the Japanese had really "reformed their administration", even though they did not understand the civilisation they copied. It was, perhaps, the greatest mistake ever made by Sun Yat-sen; not because it blinded him to Japanese policy—for what responsible leader of that day was not blind?—but because it led him to think China might also copy without understanding. It encouraged him to place too much reliance on outward forms of government.

THE SOUTHERN GOVERNMENT

It is idle to ask what might have happened to The Middle Kingdom if the Manchu dynasty had been allowed to run to seed, but there can be little doubt it would have passed through a period of unrest and warfare such as accompanied the seeding of most previous dynasties—with the added complication of foreign intervention.

Yüan, co-operating with Sun, might have made the new republic work well enough to avoid the disasters common to dynastic dissolution. His failure threw China inevitably into chaos. At the time of his death the effective control of his administration was very limited and it is said "the writ of the capital no longer ran more than ten miles beyond the city walls".¹⁵⁰ Corrupt officials, seeing the end so near, hastened to secure their fortunes; military men looked to their weapons and merchants hurried with their savings into the safety of the foreign concessions. In remote parts of the country, officials, acting on their own initiative, often established themselves as petty rulers with large ambitions. During the last months of the President-who-would-be-Emperor the long era of the War Lords began.

The new President, Li Yuan-hung, was never his own master from

the day when he was dragged from under a bed to a position of unsolicited greatness; and he was not the man to bring order out of chaos. He restored the provisional constitution of March 10, 1912, and was aided by men of integrity like Sun and C. T. Wang. The Suns, no longer exiles, now lived in Shanghai and made visits to various centres where Sun Yat-sen spoke to audiences on the republican form of government; but what remote chance the new government had of uniting China and subduing the War Lords was lost finally by divided opinion over the world war.

Japan early joined the allies, not from any sympathy with democracy but because she coveted former German colonies in the Pacific and German rights in Shantung. Yüan conceded the Shantung rights to Japan, but the allies insisted that a final settlement must await the end of the war. It was only when the German submarine campaign forced the allies to appeal to Japan for naval reinforcements that Japan was able to extract from them a secret promise to endorse her Shantung claim.

Meanwhile the allies, under the stress of war, wanted also help from China in the form of labour contingents, and strenuous efforts were made by Dr. Morrison and other Europeans to persuade the Chinese Republic to declare war on Germany. Some Chinese felt that by entering the war China would secure a seat at the Peace conference and could there resist Japan's claims; but others, notably Sun and C. T. Wang, desired peace in which to consolidate the republican government. Both points of view had attractions and the issue split the government. Sun expressed his opinion in an open letter to Lloyd George:

"I have been approached by prominent Englishmen to consider the question of China joining the Allies. After careful study I come to the conclusion that it would be disastrous to both countries should China break her neutrality. For China is yet an infant Republic, and as a nation, she may be likened to a sick man just entering the hospital of constitutionalism. Unable to take care of herself at this stage, she needs careful nursing and support. Therefore China cannot be regarded as an organized country. She is held intact only by custom and sentiment of a peace-loving people. But at once, should there arise discord, general anarchy would result. . . . Should China enter the war, it would prove dangerous to her national life, and injurious to the prestige of England in the Far East. The mere desire to get China to join the Allies, is to Chinese minds a confession of the Allies' inability to cope with Germany. . . . Already the question has raised bitter dissension among our statesmen."

Meanwhile in China the reformer Kang Yu-wei took part in an abortive attempt to restore the Manchus, a *dénouement* which would

have been very satisfactory to the Japanese. For nearly two weeks a boy Emperor held Peking before he was overthrown by a militarist group. President Li then resigned and a self-appointed government in Peking declared war on Germany.

Sun's unsuccessful attempt to keep China out of the World War was wise. When it failed he and some supporters, realising how strong was the old antagonism between North and South, decided to convene parliament in Canton; since Peking was in the hands of the self-appointed government. Sun was undoubtedly right in claiming that the original constitution made at Nanking in 1912 had not been superseded legally and that the Peking government was unconstitutional. But the real trouble was the antipathy of north and south. For the remainder of Sun's life the governments of Peking and Canton functioned separately and only at the very end was there a faint hope of reconciliation.

In spite of this disunity, North and South co-operated to some extent in foreign policy and for the Versailles Peace Conference the Chinese delegation included V. K. Wellington Koo, a nationalist, and C. T. Wang. These two really spoke for China, the Northern delegates taking a less active part. Sir Frederick Whyte says: "If the spokesmanship had been left solely to the nominees of Peking, there would have been more than a suspicion that the voice was the voice of China, but the message Japanese".¹⁵¹ The situation arising from this split in the government of China made things very difficult for foreign governments, especially the British government, because of its widespread interests.

It is unnecessary to follow in detail the story of China's disappointments at Versailles. The speeches of allied statesmen during the war led the Chinese, and many foreigners, to believe that, after the war, China would receive "equal status" with other Powers and that the "unequal treaties" would be abrogated. Instead the ex-German rights in Shantung were handed over to Japan because America feared Japan might desert the League of Nations if refused and because Britain, France and Italy had already given their secret promises under duress. The Chinese returned from Versailles in 1919 "sore and disillusioned", to quote Sir Frederick Whyte, and there was yet further justification for Sun and his friends to use the word "imperialism". As an English writer put it, "China was hurried into the war by her so-called friends. Well might she pray to be saved from her friends. Germany could have struck her no blow which compares with that dealt her by the Allies."¹⁵²

Now that the relations between China and England are so vastly improved we are reluctant to dwell on the times of failure, but to understand why Sun Yat-sen and his friends began to look askance at English policy we must glance back at some causes of ill-feeling. A member of the British Consular Service in China described the attitude of the British Government as "seeking to uphold against the rising wave of Chinese Nationalism the complicated fabric of British treaty rights and vested interests".¹⁵³ Other Powers were as much to blame but because their interests were small there was a tendency for Chinese to put all the blame on England. Shortly after Sun Yat-sen's death England took the lead in reversing this mistaken policy. Apart from the political causes of friction there were others which, psychologically, were even more serious. The same British official writing of this time says:

"The average Englishman of Shanghai and the treaty ports conveyed to his Chinese fellow citizens an impression of aloof complacency, and an irritating assumption of racial superiority . . . social intercourse on a footing of equality used scarcely to exist. Also responsible for much of the British unpopularity in China was the old die-hard 'China Hand', usually a journalist or lawyer, with his interests rooted in the exterritorial régime, who had developed an anti-Chinese, treaty port complex and regarded all manifestations of the new Nationalist China with soured and jaundiced eye."¹⁵⁴

Doubtless something could be said on the other side, but these are clearly the main reasons which slowly dissolved the very real friendship of Sun Yat-sen for the country that contributed so largely to his western education.

It has been suggested that about this time Sun's whole attitude to western civilisation changed—that his admiration for the occident was suddenly shattered by the World War. It is true, certainly, that the moral prestige of Europe suffered in Chinese eyes. They had been gazing on a new kind of civilisation with all sorts of glittering merits unknown in ancient China and now, as they gazed, the whole structure was shaken by slaughter organised on a scale which made insignificant the utmost barbarities of the orient. China was shocked and became cynical and it has been said a "vein of cynicism was very noticeable in Dr. Sun after 1918".¹⁵⁵ We can accept this view if we bear in mind that Sun's whole-hearted enthusiasm for occidental civilisation, and especially English civilisation, suffered its first check on his first visit to Europe when he saw the gap between wealth and poverty in London and elsewhere. Doubtless the war brought him some degree of disillusionment, as it did many Europeans, but it

was not the complete disillusionment suffered by those of his countrymen who had praised Europe from afar.

In the North a number of War Lords struggled for supremacy. Some were patriots anxious to carve a pattern out of the shapeless mass of contemporary politics, but many sought only their own fortunes.

In the South a government, claiming to be the legal government of the Republic of China, fared little better. Several times efforts were made to drive northwards with the ultimate intention of defeating Peking and establishing a united government for the whole of China, but at other times the Canton parliament lost control of all but the city and its immediate environs. The Cantonese were outwardly more concerned than the North with political theories, but they had in their midst some who were no better than War Lords.

A large part of the vast land of China remained aloof from both Peking and Canton.

The Southern government was formed in Canton during August 1917, with Sun at the head and a number of able men in the administration. Lin Sen returned from his propaganda work in America and became Deputy Speaker and, later, Minister of Foreign Affairs. Chiang Kai-shek held an important military post and Sun Fo, with two American university degrees to his credit, became secretary to the Assembly. It is reported that Ah Mi, who had suffered financial difficulties, now claimed the post of Governor of Kwangtung and was told plainly by his young brother that he had not sufficient ability. Poor Ah Mi! He contributed a large part of his fortune to the cause and considered he was thereby entitled to a lucrative appointment when his party came into power. What matter if a governor's salary was small, had not governors from time immemorial known how to put *that* right? And to be refused by his own brother! And with such western directness! No wonder Ah Mi was indignant. He demanded the return of his money and after some hot words between the brothers a cash repayment was made.

Sun's selection of officials is often criticised. Not a few turned out badly but the task was by no means simple, for Sun tried to stamp out corruption, which in recent years had become very prevalent in Chinese officialdom and his choice was restricted. Henry T. Hodgkin, who knew both north and south China, visited Canton four years after Sun's first government was established and his report is not unfavourable:

"The city government, under the mayor, a son of the President, seemed to be efficient and progressive. Certain great abuses had been tackled with success and others were being dealt with gradually. . . . My own feeling was that there were a number of high-minded men in the government, that they were sincerely convinced that they were working for the good of China, and that in several cases they had really achieved something of value."¹⁵⁶

This is not to say that all those who gathered around Sun were above bribery and unacquainted with graft, but Sun's ideals were high morally as well as politically.

Sun's control over the new government in Canton was of short duration. Opponents within the party challenged his leadership and succeeded in passing through the legislature a bill which reduced his power to that of a mere committeeman. Sun, always a leader, was ill-suited to committee work. He held definite views on what needed to be done and had an increasing belief that it would have been better for China if, in the past, he had been more insistent on the execution of his own plans. He now felt frustrated.

It is not easy to understand how it was that Sun seemed autocratic to some of his colleagues, for more than once his actions were renunciatory and his writings contain passages of self-blame and, also, grateful acknowledgments of help from others. He was aware of his own importance, and even of a destiny that set him above others, but he knew he was only the medium through whom some force greater than Sun Yat-sen worked. Sun was essentially a humble man. Nevertheless there were amongst those who tried to work with him in the Canton government some who resented his manner of leadership. It was said he wanted to monopolise all power; and, conversely, that he allowed others to usurp his authority. It was as though at times he forgot the famous saying of Lao-Tzu, "Govern a great nation as you would cook a small fish" and overdid it; while at other times he was like Wang Ta-hai's bird of paradise which "remains among the clouds, drinking fog and eating mist and never sets foot on the earth".

Sun's passionate belief in democracy kept him from becoming anything like a dictator and, when he found himself unable to convince his colleagues, he withdrew; sending them a parting message, "Preach the gospel of justice and lead the people to righteousness". When report of this reached Sun's old comrades in Hawaii they pointed to the Hawaiian coat of arms with its motto that Sun had seen so often in Iolani days, "The Life of a land is established in righteousness".

Sun and his wife settled at 29 Rue Molière in the French Concession at Shanghai and for a time he turned his mind from the hurly-burly of practical politics to the writing of books. A few months later in the preface to *Memoirs of a Chinese Revolutionist* Sun acknowledged the complete failure of the revolution and expressed a hope that his pen would prove mightier than his sword:

"... If we analyse our first promptings to carry out the Chinese Revolution, we shall see that we had in view the salvation of the Chinese people and the country; whereas the result has been quite the opposite, and the Chinese people is becoming more and more oppressed, the country more and more unhappy. . . . Seven years have passed since the foundation of the Chinese Republic, and literally nothing has been done in this direction. On the contrary, the affairs of the Chinese Republic have become more and more complicated and the difficulties of the Chinese people have grown with every passing day. . . . However, I still begin the writing of this book, first of all for the purpose of crushing the enemy with the help of my theory, and leading the thoughts of my Chinese fellow-countrymen out of the blind alley in which they are at present. Then they will not look on my programme as a Utopia, and millions of them will be my sympathisers, will fight for the reconstruction of China, will consolidate the Republic, and will create a Government by the people, of the people and for the people. I believe in this, since I believe in the Chinese people."

On October 17, 1918, Sun wrote from Shanghai to Mrs. Cantlie giving her a summary of a year's news:

"In spite of the manifold responsibilities and duties that must befall you, I trust that you have time to keep up with the work that we are doing here. Over a year ago I left Shanghai with the greater part of the Navy for Canton. There I organised the Military Government in opposition to the illegal Government in the north, which is comprised of followers and henchmen of Yuan Shih-kai. By military forces they sought to destroy the Republic and compelled Li Yuan Hung to dissolve the Parliament.

"Thus the country has been in turmoil ever since. We are trying to overthrow the same autocratic and military spirit in our country as that for which so many lives have been sacrificed in the European War. As soon as the legal Parliament was convened at Canton I resigned as chief of the Military Government, since my object had been obtained. The mandarin clique in the North has set up a bogus Parliament and elected a bogus President in the meantime; however, there will be no peace until law is restored and the Constitutionalist cause succeeds.

"At present I am devoting my time in writing another book, by which I hope to instil new knowledge into Chinese minds and to revolutionise old theories which we without questioning their worth or truth have clung to for centuries, to the stagnation of our mental progress and achievement. Last year I finished a book on the Parliamentary Law, and I am glad that in many

of the schools it is being used as a text-book. I hope that I shall have plenty of time to write henceforth, in order to educate the people's minds and teach them their responsibilities as citizens and their privileges and duties. From your last letter I discovered that you were not informed of my second marriage, which took place in Tokyo three years ago. My wife was educated in an American College and is the daughter of one of my earliest co-workers and friends. I am quite anxious for my wife to know you and to enjoy your friendship as I do, and I hope to be able to bring her to England in the near future."

Life held further adventures and hurried escapes for Sun Yat-sen, but the days of his long-distance travels were over, and the anticipated visit to England never took place.

PART SEVEN

Hidden for five hundred years
Suddenly one day the Enchanted Land was disclosed;
But because it was alien to the outer world
Soon it was shut out again as before.

Tell me, O you seekers after strange lands,
What do you know beyond this world?

From *The Peach-Blossom Fountain*,
by Tao Chien (A.D. 372-427),
as quoted by Sir A. Quiller-Couch
in his preface to *Chinese Lyrics*,
translated by Chu Ta-kao,
Cambridge University Press, 1937.

POST-WAR PLANNING

AT THE end of 1918 Sun Yat-sen published three volumes of his *Plans for National Reconstruction*. Of the situation in Europe and America, he wrote:

"With the end of the war, work at many factories must cease. Millions of workers will be thrown out into the streets, and vast sums invested in war industry will earn no profit. The problem of utilising war industry is one of the most serious problems facing Europe, and the best minds of Europe and America are labouring at its solution."¹⁵⁷

He was dealing with the problem of China's poverty—the spring of all his thinking since the days of childhood. His book proposed ways in which the standard of living in China might be raised and the country's industries developed to the general advantage of all peoples.

Sun explained to his Chinese readers, who it may be supposed knew nothing of the history of western industrialisation, that under the urgent realism of war, industrial capacity in Europe and America had increased greatly. Sun called it "the second industrial revolution" and declared the productivity of the worker had been increased many times more than during the first industrial revolution. Western readers are apt to be put off by the expression of such platitudes as these, unless they remember that much of Sun's writing was based on speeches made to Chinese audiences and that Sun's genius lay

rather in apprehending the essentials of a problem than in working out its details.

It required no genius to see that China then, as now, needed a vast development of transport services and at least a nucleus of industries; but Sun, quoting the proverb, "The day when the river turns blue will never come", urged that the need of America and Europe to keep their factory wheels turning could be met by supplying the needs of China—it was what another proverb calls "The heaven-sent opportunity which it is sinful to miss, since to miss it spells disaster".

Sun went further than merely envisaging the typhoon of unemployment that was shortly to sweep across America and Europe:

"... In two or three years the European and American factories will return to their pre-war condition and their development will proceed ten times more rapidly. Once again the world trade war will begin."¹⁵⁸

And again Sun put the matter thus:

"The recent world war has proved to mankind that war is ruinous to both the conqueror and the conquered, and worse for the aggressor. What is true in military warfare is more so in trade warfare. Since President Wilson has proposed a League of Nations to end military war in the future, I desire to propose to end the trade war by co-operation and mutual help in the development of China. This will root out probably the greatest cause of future wars ... international co-operation of this kind cannot but help to strengthen the brotherhood of man. Ultimately, I am sure, this will culminate to be the keystone in the arch of the League of Nations."¹⁵⁹

In 1920 Sun's proposals were published in English by his friends in Shanghai under the title *The International Development of China* and critics are apt to take this date, the period of the deceptive industrial boom in the west, as the time when the proposals were first made. In fact the main outlines were formulated and issued shortly after the armistice. They included plans for building a hundred thousand miles of railways, a million miles of roads, telephones and wireless stations, steel and cement works and, in general, the beating of western swords into eastern ploughshares: some of the details of these plans were declared by experts to be impracticable: the railways, they said, were to run through impossible terrain. But it takes big minds to understand big ideas and when we see what has been done in modern Russia we are less ready to dismiss Sun's plans as Utopian.

"Today the world is faced with the problem of how to organise post-war economy of Europe," said Sun, and a quarter of a century

later statesmen echo his words. The American edition of his book expressed the matter thus:

"Now the war is ended, and the sole market for these war supplies has closed, let us hope, forever, for the good of humanity . . . if the billions of dollars' worth of war industries can find no place in the post-bellum readjustment, then they will be pure economic waste. The results will disturb the economic condition of the producing countries. . . . The workshops that turn out cannon can easily be made to turn out steam rollers for the construction of roads in China. The workshops that turn out tanks can be made to turn out trucks for the transportation of the raw materials that are lying everywhere in China."¹⁶⁰

On March 20, 1919, Sun wrote to Lady Cantlie:

"I am sending you here a copy of my project to develop China internationally. I have sent a copy to each member of the Cabinet of the British Government also. I hope you will let me know how the people of England will receive this scheme of mine. If this plan is favourably received in England I will make a trip there in the near future. At present I cannot very well leave China, as the internal peace is not yet settled. Hoping to hear from you soon and with my most affectionate regards to you and yours."

Sun's proposals were sent "to all the governments" and he claimed they were received with great sympathy by the government of America. The "sympathetic consideration" of governments is well understood in the occident to be an evasive formula and Sun did not realise his proposals were too advanced for the times. The unofficial replies he received pointed to financial difficulties; for, by then, "the best minds of Europe and America" had either given up the problem as insoluble or were ignored by the politicians. No-one seemed disposed to face the real issue. As to their reception in China, Sun wrote:

"During the course of my writing, these programmes have been published in various magazines and newspapers time after time and are being spread all over China. They are welcome everywhere and by everyone in the country. So far there is not a word expressed in disfavour of my proposition. The only anxiety ever expressed regarding my scheme is where can we obtain such huge sums of money to carry out even a small part of this comprehensive project."¹⁶¹

Financial difficulties there certainly were but if politicians in the west had understood that it is impossible to have world peace while there is trade war between nations, the money for Sun's ideas would have been forthcoming. Unfortunately no statesmen of the occident saw as clearly as did Sun Yat-sen the menace of trade war—or, if they saw, had not the courage to tell their people. The cry to arm,

and the cry to disarm, are alike futile while economic war rages. "If these millions of dollars invested in war industries find no outlet in peace conditions," declared Sun, "the world will be faced with an economic crisis," and the critics judging his plans replied "quixotic", "unrealistic", "an uncompromising visionary", "too vague", "too complex".

It would be unfair to put too much blame on the critics, for, now, as we face the vastly increased productive capacity of yet another war-stimulated industrial revolution, we have past experience to clarify the issue. We cannot forget the tens of millions of men and women broken by unemployment between the two wars, or the scores of millions of children ill-nourished because of restricted production and mal-distribution; and we can see that if Sun's proposals had been taken seriously, not in all their details but as a basis for ameliorating the economic problem, the world would hardly have fared worse, even if the plans did involve the scrapping of a few obsolete gears in the financial machine. "When you heal a sick man," said Dr. Sun quoting a Chinese proverb, "always begin with the worst disease," and he might have added a saying from *The Book of History*: "If the drug does not daze and blind, the sickness will not be healed".

The Atlantic Charter of Roosevelt and Churchill recognises the economic inter-dependence of peoples—freedom from want *everywhere*—and now all the world sees the follies of The Twenty Years Economic War (1919–1939); but in 1919 the only response to Sun's planning was a declaration on May 5th by twelve of the Powers telling China the governments concerned had made a pact to restrain their subjects from trafficking arms in China. Instead of turning their swords into ploughshares for the benefit of China and the people of Europe and America, as Sun suggested, the Powers offered not to sell their disused swords to the War Lords. Even this negative beneficence failed. Italy frankly refused to join the pact until she had sold in China her unwanted weapons; the action taken by America did not stop her nationals from trafficking arms in China, and Russia supplied very large quantities. Britain played her part, convicting and sentencing subjects who evaded the regulations, but the general embargo was, to quote Sir Frederick Whyte, "derisory, if not deplorable".¹⁶²

There was little in the reception of Sun's proposals to encourage him but he knew they were fundamentally sound, and two years after their first appearance he asked Sir James Cantlie to arrange

for publication in England. He was so sanguine as to hope Lord Curzon would write a preface. Sir John Pratt, who had experience of Lord Curzon at the Foreign Office, classifies him as belonging "to that type of imperialist who believe that painting another spot of red anywhere on the map of the world must redound to the greater glory of England".¹⁶³ It is, therefore, hardly surprising that Curzon refused Sun's request! A letter from Sun to Sir James Cantlie dated from Canton, August 12, 1921, refers to this:

"MY DEAR SIR JAMES CANTLIE,

"Many thanks for your letter of June 26th, and for your great kindness for seeing about the publication of my book in England. I understand fully the difficulties mentioned in your letter, and if you do not succeed in placing the book for the present, I shall wait for a more favourable opportunity. I have read Marquis Curzon's letter with great interest and quite understand his difficulty. Of course, in requesting him to write an introduction to my book, it never crossed my mind to try to use or exploit him in the interest of my party. I am convinced that the lines of development defined in my book are the right ones to be followed, if China and her incalculable resources are to be available, at the earliest date and without protracted delay, for the use of her people and for the people of the rest of the world. I want this view to be shared by those who are shaping or who are in a position to influence the large policies of the world, in order to get the necessary momentum which shall set my thoughts moving in the minds of men in the direction of work and achievement. That is the only reason I thought of getting Lord Curzon to introduce the book to English people. With you, I think the Miners' strike and its result will have a steadying effect on political development in England. Of course the fundamental common sense of your people is a mighty asset.

"With renewed thanks and best wishes,

"Very sincerely yours,

"Sun Yat-sen."

It is not irrelevant to mention that a recent official publication of the Chinese Government, dated June 5, 1943, quotes at length from *The International Development of China* and concludes:

"Sun's proposals were made after the first World War, but were not carried out. After the second World War China will welcome, more than ever, the technical and financial co-operation of the United Nations in the vast task of national reconstruction. It will be to the interest not only of the Chinese, but to the United Nations as a whole, that the Chinese standard of living is greatly raised. For in the last analysis only when 'four hundred million customers' are relatively well off will they constitute a great world market and become a strong stabilizing influence in the Pacific area."¹⁶⁴

It is easy to find flaws in Sun's details, and inconsistencies in his argument; at times his assertions are almost reckless as when he

declares, "in respect of hidden wealth in the bowels of the earth, China undoubtedly takes first place in the whole world", but his main thesis in favour of economic mutual aid between nations was, and remains, correct.

A LAST ADVENTURE

"You know how I dread publicity," wrote Madame Sun to a friend in America, "but since my marriage I have had to participate in many affairs which I'd otherwise escape." She accompanied her husband to numerous public functions and, during the last years of his life, when he was sometimes running the southern government in Canton and sometimes living in Shanghai, the two were seldom parted.

A letter dated February 28, 1920, to Lady Cantlie expresses Chingling's view of the political situation:

"MY DEAR LADY CANTLIE,

"I take great pleasure in writing you for my husband. I feel I know you personally already, as my husband speaks so constantly of you and Doctor Cantlie to me. Your letters give him great encouragement and cheer and he looks forward to them eagerly. He was greatly touched in reading that you never forgot to pray for him daily. It is your staunch friendship and unwavering belief in him that gives him courage to stand amidst all difficulties and oppositions with optimism.

"As to the political conditions in China, we are in a worse state than ever before. Our enlightened classes led by the students are giving the Peking Militarists an uneasy time. But their efforts are futile; for the foreign powers continue to lend all financial assistance to the self-seeking Militarists, who are nothing less than servants of Japanese Prussianism. Fruitless as our attempts seem, they serve at least to rouse our people and make them understand the danger that our country is now in.

"Democracy could easily regain its foothold in China if the foreign powers would only stand neutral. By the same mail my husband is sending you his latest photograph. He looks thinner now, as he is a strict vegetarian, but is strong and well.

"We send you kindest regards and best wishes."

Charlie Soong died in 1918, a year after his youngest daughter, Mayling, returned from her ten years' education in America; but the family kept together and Mayling was a very frequent visitor at 29 Rue Molière. It was there she met Chiang Kai-shek who is said to have made up his mind to marry her. At first Mayling was "not interested", and it was some years before they married.

For twenty years Chiang Kai-shek lived in close contact with Sun

Yat-sen, absorbing his leader's political ideas and venerating his idealism. He stood by Sun through all vicissitudes and was absolutely loyal, though there were times when relations between the two were slightly strained. This arose through Chiang's better judgment of men or, to be accurate, through Sun's larger hope in the integrity of men. Thus in 1919 Chiang was convinced that some of the senior military officers of the Canton administration were untrustworthy—notably one named Chen Chiung-ming. More than once Chiang pointed this out to Sun, but apparently the leader had some doubts and believed he could ensure Chen's loyalty by showing trust in him. "If you try to govern others and do not succeed, turn inwards and examine your wisdom," said Mencius, and there were times when Sun paid too much attention to this excellent maxim. He could be dogmatic, obstinate and blind to the other side of a question but he was also a stern self-critic. "I have lived many years," he said, "and I have made many mistakes, and if I live much longer, I shall make more mistakes." It was this mood which made Sun over-trustful and quick to forgive. In the matter of Chen it would have been better if he had taken the advice of the shrewd young Chiang.

Sun and Chiang differed, also, about foreign aid for China. Sun, who had good friends in America and England and knew the degree to which idealism moves the most enlightened persons in those countries, never realised fully that, in a democracy, government policy always lags behind the ideals of the progressive elements of the community. His mind was over-simple, in the sense that, having determined what was right in principle, he could see no reasons against immediate action on those lines. Henry T. Hodgkin, who met Sun in Canton during this period, found that his "criticism of events and nations was incisive and made little allowance for the difficulties faced by men who, though sincere, lacked courage to meet the event".¹⁶⁵

So Sun continued to hope that England and America would actively help the southern government, but Chiang Kai-shek thought otherwise and urged that China must put her house in order unaided.

Great efforts were made; and the southern government did something to improve the City of Rams. With Sun Fo as mayor, much of the city was rebuilt. The old city wall was demolished, broad roads were cut through what had been slums, modern buildings replaced old warrens and public utilities, parks and sports grounds were constructed. The gambling houses were closed, though later

they had to be reopened at the insistent demand of ill-disciplined soldiers—gambling being one of the strongest passions of the Chinese. This refurbishment of an ancient city in China caused a good deal of comment, but more important than the new buildings and the wider streets were the new minds and wider outlooks of some of the leading citizens. There was a general feeling that a page was being turned in Chinese history. According to Hodgkin, graft was much less in Canton than in Peking. He added: "It was easy to understand that a government so strongly socialist in its tendency and not at all inclined to agree to the demands of foreign capitalists would meet with opposition and be spoken of slightly in Hong-kong". An American with experience of the Far East said, "In Canton now is the best single group of men in China, the men best suited to lead China to solid ground". There was justification for his further comment that the "powerful personality" of Sun Yat-sen in some ways hindered progress by diverting the party to wider political issues.¹⁶⁶

When the Suns were in residence in Canton they were often visited by members of the Soong family and Chingling's brother, T. V. Soong, took an active part in the government. Although a very young man for such an appointment he became President of the newly constituted Central Bank. It will be remembered that it was Dr. T. V. Soong who, as Foreign Minister of a united China, had the great satisfaction of signing treaties with Britain and America in 1943 abolishing the "unequal treaties".

In 1921 the Canton government had sufficient control for Sun to feel that a successful attack might be made on the War Lords of the north. Chen Chiung-ming disagreed with this policy but Sun left him in charge of army affairs in Canton, including responsibility for supplies for the expeditionary force. At a critical stage of the enterprise a General, handling transport and provisioning, was assassinated and it was generally assumed the assassination had been instigated by Chen. Many of the records of the not-infrequent assassinations of Chinese leaders during the period of Sun Yat-sen's life are unreliable and suspicions were not always well founded. Sun continued to trust Chen, but Chiang Kai-shek urged an immediate attack on the army under Chen's control. Sun did not take this advice and Chiang, distrustful of the outcome and chagrined that his counsel was rejected, retired to Shanghai.

Meanwhile in the north there was a turn-about amongst the War Lords which restored Li Yuan-hung to the presidency. Li convened

the old 1913 parliament and won the support of some of the right-wing members of the Kuomintang. Sun was urged to give up the presidency of the Canton government and unite with the north. For years Sun had stuck firmly to his contention that the constitution of 1913, set aside by Yüan and disregarded by the foreign powers, was the only legal constitution of China and now that Li and his friends talked of going back to that constitution Sun was in a dilemma. The men in charge at Peking were certainly hostile to him and, rightly or wrongly, he rejected their proposal. When he refused, Chen Chiung-ming came out into open revolt, moving his troops into positions from which they threatened Sun's presidential headquarters in Canton. Sun had only a few loyal soldiers in Canton, his army not yet having returned from the abortive northern expedition.

Chingling's sister, Madame Kung, with her baby daughter, had been staying with the Suns in the Canton Residency, and so little was Chen's treachery expected that Chingling tried to persuade her sister, who was about to return to her home in Shansi, to leave the baby girl behind. "Leave her here," Chingling urged, "I'll take good care of her." Fortunately Madame Kung and her daughter left just before Chen's troops attacked.

When Sun's staff brought him news that an attack was imminent he refused to believe it, saying that Chen "would not prove so disloyal". His friends urged him to escape but Sun said: "I cannot leave my duties when faced by illegitimate force. If I should do so, I would betray the trust imposed in me by the people. Life and success are of secondary consideration, and I will put down rebellion at any cost so as to clear the nation of traitors."¹⁶⁷

At two o'clock on the morning of June 16, 1922, Sun woke his wife telling her the attack had begun and that they must go aboard a gunboat in the river. Chingling persuaded Sun to leave her in the Residency, pointing out that she, as a private person, could not be in much danger and that he, as commander, would be hampered in his operations if he had to look after a woman: "At last he saw the sense of my argument, but he would not go even then until he had left all fifty of our bodyguard to protect the house. Then he departed alone."¹⁶⁸

On his way to the gunboat Sun met a detachment of the rebels, an unruly force whose thoughts were set on loot. With great presence of mind he mingled with them marching along as though one of their number. He managed to slip away near the Bund and, reach-

ing naval headquarters, got aboard a ship. Chiang Kai-shek was still in Shanghai, but the moment he heard of his leader's danger he came south and at considerable personal risk joined Sun aboard one of the ships of the small Chinese navy.

Meanwhile, Madame Sun had an adventurous time. The rebels, supposing Sun to be still in the Residency, attacked in force. The bodyguard fought bravely, every one of the fifty being killed before the incident was over. One of the foreign members of Sun's staff, Colonel Bow, with two soldiers, helped Chingling to crawl over a bridge from the Residency into the back garden. Chen's troops were out of all control and set about looting. Colonel Bow was wounded badly and for some hours Chingling was in great danger. When the rebels at last broke into the building in which she had taken shelter they were so greedy for loot that Chingling, wearing Sun's raincoat and Colonel Bow's hat, was able to slip out with a few others into the open streets. Her small party, hurrying through the half-looted city, encountered a wild mob, but, by lying down in the street and pretending to be dead, they were left unmolested. Some fourteen hours after the attack began Chingling found refuge in a small farmhouse. She had two guards with her but one was shot while investigating the possibilities of further escape. Chingling then disguised herself as an old countrywoman and the remaining guard as a pedlar and, in this way, they came to the home of a friend where they spent the night. The friend's house had been searched once and it was reported that already two hapless women, mistaken for Madame Sun, had been thrown into prison. So next morning Chingling, still disguised, walked to the foreign quarters at Shameen. There a foundry-worker found a small motor-boat to take her to the home of another friend. After nightfall she succeeded in reaching her husband on board ship and, soon after, he arranged for her to be taken, still in disguise, to Hongkong.

Sun and the faithful Chiang decided to remain with the navy off Canton, for news had come that Sun's expeditionary army was returning, and there was good reason to hope the disorderly soldiers of Chen would be soon vanquished. Unfortunately the commander of the Navy was persuaded by Chen to desert Sun. A letter he is said to have sent Sun complained that Sun's "boastful words do not accord with realities" and declared the navy would remain "neutral" because "I cannot bear, for no earthly use, to make men-of-war, so valuable to the nation, targets of cannon-balls". There was no reason why the navy should run into danger if they remained

loyal to the President and it seems clear political intrigue was responsible for the desertion. The immediate effect was that the three cruisers screening Sun's gunboat weighed anchor, leaving his vessel an open target for the Fish Eye Fort. Chiang's military advice was now invaluable and it was decided to move the gunboat up the river, past another strong fort in the hands of the enemy, to a safer anchorage. During the passage Sun's little ship was hit six times by shells from the fort's guns.

It took a long time for news to come from the returning expeditionary force, and for almost two months Sun and Chiang shared the miserable quarters of a gunboat, lying off-shore during the worst period of the hot damp summer. Provisions were short and the water supply scanty. Chiang Kai-shek took his turn with the sailors at sweeping decks and sometimes, under cover of night, rowed silently ashore seeking food in the enemy's territory. When, at last, news did come, it was disastrous. Sun's army had been routed by Chen. After that it was useless to remain near Canton and when Chiang discovered a plot by Chen to assassinate Sun, he insisted the old leader should seek safety.

The British Consul-General made arrangements for H.M.S. *Moorhen* to escort Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek to Hongkong, whence they returned to Shanghai. Their escape from the river in which the gunboat was bottled up might have been hazardous without this help from the British Navy. Rather surprisingly Sun's defeat by Chen and his ignominious escape from Canton increased his prestige with the Chinese people and the adventure gave Sun greater confidence than ever in the young military officer, Chiang Kai-shek. It is said that on one occasion Sun remarked to Chiang, "the destiny of the nation rests on your shoulders".¹⁶⁹

SUN AND RUSSIA

It will be remembered that after Sun Yat-sen escaped from the Chinese Legation in London in 1896, he met some exiles from Tsarist Russia in a London museum and had talk with them of their revolutionary plans.

China and Russia are not only neighbours but at that time were alike in certain important respects. Both these vast countries had comparatively poor communications, both were predominantly agricultural and undeveloped industrially, and both had large

populations of illiterate and ill-nourished country folk. The comparison must not be pushed too far, for even the illiterate Chinese farming community were, in a sense, cultured and consolidated by the permeating wisdom of China's sages.

Nothing could be more natural than that Sun Yat-sen, China's revolutionary leader, should be interested in Russia and should welcome the news of October 1917 when the oppressed people of Russia threw off the Tsarist yoke: he went to considerable trouble to send a message of congratulation to Lenin. It was inevitable the two largest nations in the world, with a long common frontier (however ill-defined and sundered by deserts) and with newly established republics—both regarded with some hostility by other nations—should be intensely interested in each other.

Tsarist Russia was as aggressive as any nation against China, but Soviet Russia, anxious to be recognised by other nations and, perhaps, hoping for Far Eastern friendships to offset the antagonisms of the west, issued a "Manifesto to the Chinese People" dated July 25, 1919:

"If the people of China wish to become free, like the Russian people, and be spared the lot prepared for them by the Allies at Versailles, which would make of China a second Korea or a second India, let it understand that its only ally and brother in its struggle for national freedom are the Russian workers and peasants and their Red Army."¹⁷⁰

A year later Russia restored to China all territory seized by Tsarist Russia, including all the Concessions, and gave up her extraterritorial privileges and Boxer indemnity. Cynics pointed out that Russia only gave up what she had lost already; but where prestige is the main concern motives count for little and the Chinese, sensitive about their prestige, welcomed the Russian gesture. As for Sun Yat-sen, he was hopeful Russia's attitude might hasten the fulfilment of promises made by Britain and America in 1902 and 1903 to abolish extraterritoriality.

In 1921 Lenin sent a representative to China and this man, having visited Peking, went south to see Sun. He returned to Russia with the report that the only public man he met in China who had principles and a programme was Sun Yat-sen. Sun appears to have asked many questions about the policy and organisation of the Soviet republics, and it would certainly have been unlike him not to do so.

These early contacts are important, since they undermine the rather shallow suggestions that Sun "turned to Russia" suddenly

in 1923 because the Western Powers would not help him, or because he was a defeated man at his wit's end, or because the cunning communists set a trap into which he walked! It is true Sun was disappointed to a degree of bitterness with the failure of the Powers to support his party and with the actual antagonism of Britain. There is a story that just after Sun's death Chiang Kai-shek, speaking to American journalists, said: "We never know where we are with America. Just where the British stand we do know. They are opposed to our ideas and we do not like it. With you, however, we were mystified. You speak so kindly but you do not act."¹⁷¹

If the Powers had shown any friendship to Sun his move towards Russia might have been less pronounced but that he would have been sympathetically interested in the Russian revolution, irrespective of the attitude of the Powers, cannot be doubted. For all his inexactitude and dogmatism Sun was too great a man to have blind prejudices; and his attitude to Soviet Russia was more detached and realistic than that of British and American propagandists, or even than that of those who were then responsible for British foreign policy. On the other hand it is easy to understand how British business interests blamed Sun for upsetting the settled conditions so necessary for profitable trade. They were exasperated by the never-ending conflict of War Lords and believed that if only Sun Yat-sen would keep quiet the Powers might succeed in propping up the moribund régime of Peking.

In August 1922 the Russian government sent an able diplomat, Adolph Joffe, to China and it is significant he did not at once seek Sun Yat-sen. Joffe went to North China and was received warmly by the intellectual class and by students. In a public speech he pledged Soviet aid to China when China should decide to rid herself of "foreign imperialism" and he was thanked by no less a person than the Chancellor of Peking University. If the North and South were disunited, they had at least one idea in common—a strong dislike of the "imperialism" of the Powers. Unfortunately there has been some misrepresentation of these facts by writers who wish to throw all the blame for Chinese anti-foreign feeling on to Sun Yat-sen and the Russians, so it is necessary to emphasise that it was not only Sun and his Canton friends who welcomed the Russians but Chinese from all quarters; and that China, as a whole, was glad to find one nation willing to treat her as an equal. For the same reason it is important to remember Russia had not yet begun intense communist propaganda and that, a little later, the Powers continued to

recognise Peking in spite of Peking's acceptance of a Soviet ambassador.

It was not until January 1923 that Joffe met Sun in Shanghai and there is evidence that Sun hesitated before accepting the Russian's advances. More than a month elapsed before a joint manifesto was issued, a document so worded as to suggest unusual caution on Sun's part. He still hoped the Powers would follow Russia's lead and abolish the unequal treaties. It was one thing to denounce "imperialism" and stir up anti-foreign sentiments—and this pin-pricking policy did force some concessions from the Powers—but Sun was reluctant to slam the door on reconciliation. He underestimated the alarm of the Powers over Russian communism and saw no reason why China should not cultivate Russian friendship and, at the same time, obtain from the West both capital and technical assistance. To the end of his life Sun held tenaciously to the hope of foreign aid for China.

The fire that destroyed Sun's headquarters in Canton when he was attacked by Chen Chiung-ming left unburnt some papers which were published without his consent in a Hongkong newspaper. These showed Sun had hopes of some alliance with Germany as well as Russia. Sun complained of misrepresentation in the translation but readily admitted his desire for such an alliance. A little later the American Minister in Peking went to see Sun in Canton and Sun again raised the matter of help from the Powers. It is even alleged he had a detailed plan involving temporary foreign military control of the provincial capitals, but this seems very doubtful and was never believed in China. Whatever the plan may have been, Sun received no encouragement from the American Minister.

The most important paragraph of the Joffe-Sun Manifesto reads:

"Dr. Sun Yat-sen holds that the communistic order, or even the Soviet system, cannot actually be introduced into China because there do not exist the conditions for the successful establishment of either communism or Sovietism. This view is entirely shared by Mr. Joffe, who is further of the opinion that China's paramount and most pressing problem is to achieve national unification and attain full national independence; and regarding this great task he has assured Dr. Sun Yat-sen that China has the warmest sympathy of the Russian people and can count on the support of Russia."¹⁷²

Then follows a re-affirmation of Russia's renunciation of the unequal treaty rights and plans for a conference to settle questions relating to the Chinese Eastern Railway. Another paragraph concerns conditions in Outer Mongolia, Russia promising not to

encourage secession of this territory from China; and Sun agreeing Russia should maintain troops there during "the inability of the present government at Peking" to prevent hostile activities by White Guards against Russia.

Within a month of Sun's meeting with Joffe, Chen Chiung-ming was driven from Canton and Sun Yat-sen returned as Generalissimo. He appointed Chiang Kai-shek as his Chief of Staff and at once sent him on a six months' mission to Moscow to study Red Army training and Soviet organisation. Chiang returned from Moscow with favourable reports. He planned the new Whampoa Military Academy where, with the help of Russian instructors, a new kind of Chinese army was born. Cadets were trained in personal responsibility for the welfare of soldiers under their command, discipline was strict and instruction was given in politics on the general lines of Sun's *Three Principles of the People*.

In the Canton administration Sun was aided by other Russian advisers, notably Borodin. It is wrong to suppose this American-educated Russian was a sinister genius who took charge of Sun Yat-sen. He was an able man who did his best to injure British interests, but on important points his views were sometimes disregarded by Sun. He was not infallible, as may be seen in his judgment that Chiang Kai-shek was "not enough of a personality" to become a leader of China!

Sun's standing in China was assured. When he spoke at Hong-kong as the guest of the University in February 1923 he received an ovation. There was no Chinese leader who enjoyed anything like the popularity of Sun Yat-sen at the time of Joffe's visit, a year before Borodin came to Canton. As for Borodin, he is reported to have expressed strongly his agreement with The Three Principles because they "meet the demands of the Chinese revolution"; but other reports allege that Borodin had a low opinion of Sun Yat-sen. It is to be noted, too, that D'Elia, a translator and commentator of Sun's work, points out that his lectures during 1924 show "the influence of Soviet propaganda" but "do not show any approbative feeling for her anti-capitalist movement".¹⁷³

This is not to deny that Borodin helped Sun greatly in the necessary task of reorganising the Kuomintang. The objection of Sun's colleagues, notably Wang Ching-wei, to previous party reorganisations had been that Sun always dominated the party, leaving insufficient scope for other leaders. They wanted more democratic control within the party. The reorganisation, now brought about

with Borodin's aid, provided for this so that Wang Ching-wei and others returned to active participation in affairs.

On January 20, 1924, Sun opened "The First National Congress of the Kuomintang", attended by 199 delegates representing all the provinces, some outlying dependencies and some overseas branches. For the first time Chinese women were admitted to membership of a political assembly, one member being Madame Sun. Congress also recognised the legal, social, educational and economic equality of the sexes, the significance of which, in an Asiatic country, it is hard to overestimate.

It would be tedious to quote Sun's speech in full. It repeated his familiar arguments accounting for the failure of the revolution and, as usual, asked all to co-operate to improve and revise the plans to be considered by the Congress. Nevertheless a Chinese writer has spoken of the "overwhelming personality of Sun Yat-sen" at the Congress, which accepted his guidance in its entirety. Sun said:

"... if we are going to succeed, we must be united and of one mind. In order to achieve this spiritual unity which is so vital to a political party, the comrades must be prepared to sacrifice their individual freedom, and to put all their ability at the disposal of the Party. In this way alone, can the Party itself both have freedom and command ability, and shoulder the great work of the Revolution, the reconstruction of the country. The failure of the Party in the past was due to the fact that while the individual member enjoyed freedom, the Party as a whole had none; that while the individual member possessed ability, the Party as a whole was deprived of it. Herein lay the failure of the Kuo-Min Tang. In reorganising the Party our task is, therefore, to rid the Party of all its shortcomings. . . ."

Wang drafted a manifesto which Borodin wanted altered to include a doctrine of class struggle and the principle of confiscation without compensation, but his advice was rejected and the manifesto accepted without these points. The manifesto declared: "The only way out for China is the establishment of a genuine People's Government, by the realisation of The Three Principles of the People through the National Revolution". The Congress elected Sun, as originator of The Three Principles, President for Life, with very considerable powers.

One of the two outstanding decisions of the Congress was the admission of Chinese Communists to the Kuomintang, not as a party but as individuals. The Chinese communists were not a new party of Bolshevik origin but had been in existence before the outbreak of the World War. Sun advocated their admission but reminded the Congress of his conviction that communism and the

Soviet system could not be applied to China. He added: "If the communists betray the Kuomintang I will be the first to propose their expulsion". The leader of the communist party then declared its members would "abide by the constitution of the Kuomintang and submit to its discipline". It is perhaps fair to say that those who style themselves communists are not always very definite as to what they mean by the term; and Sun Yat-sen can hardly be blamed if, after his death, acute differences arose in the Kuomintang with the communist members.

The other major decision of the Congress was the establishment of party dictatorship: "Only those who are loyal to the revolution and opposed to imperialism will enjoy the benefits of the revolution. The enemies of the people and the traitors to the country will be debarred from the exercise of the privileges of citizenship." At the same time it was made quite clear the ultimate aim was a full democracy on the lines of The Fivefold Constitution. This tightening of the party discipline and the party dictatorship undoubtedly owe a good deal to Russian influence, but Sun had long advocated dictatorship through what he called a military government, during a period of tutelage until law and order were established and the people trained in the rudiments of self-government, so that the new proposal was not fundamentally different. What was different was the full acceptance of this idea by Sun's colleagues.

The subsequent history of China has been so complex, and so influenced by outside events, that the views of earlier critics are no longer of much interest; but it may be said that the present government of China functions on lines not so very different from those laid down in 1924. The party dictatorship remains—and, on the whole, has been justified by events. It has not yet been possible to apply anything like full democracy but considerable progress has been made in that direction, and Chiang Kai-shek's leadership is broadly democratic in the sense that all sections of Chinese political opinion obtain some hearing in the counsels of the nation.

Before the 1924 Congress ended, news came that the first Labour government had been elected in Britain. Sun, hoping that British policy might become more favourable to China, as, indeed, it did two years later, sent a telegram of congratulations to Ramsay MacDonald. No acknowledgment was received. Next day brought the news that Lenin was dead and Congress adjourned for a few minutes to show its sympathy with the Russian people. The Foreign Commissar in Moscow telegraphed thanking the Kuomintang.

Although China and Russia had much in common at this time there was an important difference between the conditions under which their revolutionary governments functioned. Russia lived in isolation with no foreign concessions dotted over her map, and no foreign "spheres of interest" within her border. Her revolution accomplished, Russia expected, and tried to promote, immediate world revolution; but by 1921 she had to face an outside world openly hostile to her ideology. She believed the "capitalist powers" wanted to crush her and she deliberately shut herself off from trade and intercourse with them while she developed her own resources behind the barrier of her frontiers. Although this was an advantage in some ways, it hampered friendship and understanding with other peoples and Russia became like someone living in a large park with a high surrounding wall—no-one knew what was "going on in there", so that rumour went uncorrected and suspicions in the Western democracies grew. The common error of comparing countries regardless of their history, culture and economic backgrounds was the chief cause of ill-feeling between Russia and the Western Powers, and it has taken a second World War to breach the wall of ignorance. What we now see through the gap is the first fruits of the trees planted by the Russian revolutionists of Sun's day; and, without in any way committing ourselves to any judgment of the Soviet system, we see just the *kind* of fruits that Sun desired for China—illiteracy largely done away with, schools trebled, universities increased from seventy-four to seven hundred, technical schools established, twenty times as many hospitals, infant mortality decreased from 250 per 1000 to 90 per 1000, great irrigation and land drainage schemes completed, and the establishment of large industries. What Russia has done in twenty years is what Sun Yat-sen hoped China might do, and to a large extent justifies his acceptance of Russian help and the statement, attributed to him by an American newspaper, in which he declared, "The only country that shows any signs of helping us is the Soviet government of Russia".¹⁷⁴

THE WRITINGS OF SUN YAT-SEN

It was probably during Sun's visit to America in 1904 that he first heard Lincoln's phrase, "government of the people, for the people, by the people", and as long as he lived the words sang in

his head, like the ceaseless thrumming of wind in a ship's rigging which takes all other sounds and tunes them to its own. How could this epigram, enshrining a Western political ideal, be turned into an easily understood and yet comprehensive political programme for China?

Sun's earliest effort, expounded in 1905 to students in Brussels, ranged round a phrase which, turned back into English, becomes "The people are to have, the people are to control, the people are to enjoy"¹⁷⁵—a passionate and youthful conception of democracy. Thereafter, for twenty years, Sun never ceased to develop the theme in speech, conversation and writing until its final form, known as the *San Min Chu I*, which, translated literally, means Three-People-Principle-Idea. Scholars have discussed at length the best English translation of these four Chinese characters and the most commonly accepted, The Three Principles of the People, has the merit of being as vague as a title should be—that is to say its meaning, which is exact, cannot be guessed but must be sought.¹⁷⁶

We have seen already the underlying purpose of each of the three principles, but it is necessary to understand the circumstances in which the final version was produced, because *The Three Principles of the People* has become the basis of Chinese political thought.

"I waited for some leisure time to take the brush and begin to write," says Sun in the preface, but the leisure time never came. Those who knew Sun say he usually paused to think before speaking or before answering a question but his efforts to settle down to writing seem to have been interrupted always by his anxious plunging into the active politics of the moment. In Canton during the year 1921 Sun made a serious effort "to take brush and begin to write" and he collected some hundreds of European books for reference and made a considerable number of manuscript notes. All this material was destroyed on June 16, 1922, when his headquarters were destroyed.

Eighteen months passed before the work could be recommenced and then Sun began a series of weekly lectures on The Three Principles. At the same time he was busy with other affairs and speaking on other subjects. The important lectures were interrupted by a breakdown in health, attributed to the strain of making five speeches in one day. He resumed the task later but never completed the series, ending the sixteenth lecture with the words "to be continued".

One secretary took down the lectures as they were given, another

revised them and Sun checked the material before it was sent to the printer. In the preface Sun says:

"In these lectures I do not have the time necessary for careful preparation nor the books necessary for reference. I can only mount the platform and speak extemporaneously, and so I am really leaving out much that was in my former manuscripts . . . these lectures are not at all comparable to the material which I had formerly prepared. I hope that all our comrades will take the book as a basis or as a stimulus, expand and correct it, supply omissions, improve the arrangement and make it a perfect text for propaganda purposes. Then the benefits which it will bring to our people and to our state will truly be immeasurable."¹⁷⁷

A few months after the last lecture was given Sun died and it is possible to see in the words just quoted a concern and urgency, as though the author felt his time was short. They reveal his deep love of China and his essential humility—the long-contemplated *magnum opus* must be expanded, corrected and improved by others, that it may bring happiness to distressed China.

Lectures on political subjects seldom make good books and when they are delivered to a general audience and deal with contemporary events they are too controversial and apt to be too full of repetition for any reader who studies them years later—as was said by Lao-Tzu: "By many words wit is exhausted".

When we criticise *The Three Principles of the People* we should think of a physically overstrained Sun Yat-sen mounting a platform each week to "improvise"—as he expressed it; of the rushing of verbatim notes to the printer; and, especially, of Sun's request to his followers to expand, correct and improve the work.

It must be remembered, too, that while Sun was preparing and delivering the lectures he was harassed by events of the day. There are many bitter references to the imperialism of the foreign powers, which references it must be conceded were justifiable, if sometimes exaggerated and inaccurate in details.

An instance of how these external affairs influenced Sun's words may be taken from the lecture of February 3, 1924. Sun said: "At present there is a dispute between Kwangtung and the foreign nations regarding the customs surplus". Behind this remark is a sad tale of blundering. We have seen how, after the Banking Consortium loan to Yüan, control of the Chinese customs passed into the hands of the Powers who collected the whole of the duties, deducted sufficient to cover the interest on the loans and then handed back to the Chinese any "surplus". At the time of Versailles the

Powers recognised the Canton government, in that they accepted a joint Peking and Canton delegation, but in this matter of the customs "surplus" they recognised only Peking. The Canton government was now virtually at war with Peking and quite naturally objected to their share of the customs "surplus" being sent to Peking. They had objected to the original loan—which, in fact, had been used largely to repay former loans and had not in any way benefited the south—and it was galling to have to pay taxes to foreigners to cover the interest; that the "surplus" should go entirely to Peking was altogether unjust and, in effect, meant the Kwangtung people were taxed to finance Peking with whom they were at loggerheads. In September 1923 Sun made formal application to the Diplomatic Body for the Canton share of the "surplus" to be paid to the Canton government. No answer was received. A second application was made in October but still no answer came. In December Sun threatened to take over the Canton Customs "by force if necessary". In January, a few weeks before the lecture that was coloured by the incident, the Powers staged a joint naval demonstration at Canton. There was never any attempt by the Chinese to forcibly take over the customs, but the affair caused bitter anti-foreign feeling in Kwangtung. In justice to the Powers it may be said they were, at that time, ill-informed of the hold that Sun's propaganda for national solidarity had obtained on the minds of the younger generation of Chinese; they floundered in the net of past commitments and, after the manner of diplomats, attempted to find anchorage on a customable rock.

It is, therefore, small wonder *The Three Principles of the People* emphasises the injustices suffered by China at the hands of the Powers, though critics have complained, quite fairly, that Sun failed to see any other view than his own and made insufficient allowance for the difficulties the Powers had to face when dealing with a dis-united China.

Sun was concerned, however, with principles and he did not fail to damn imperialism wherever he saw it—even in the past history of his own beloved China. He went so far as to say: "Even at the present time none of the weaker and smaller Asiatic races feels absolutely secure in regard to China".

He was critical, too, of modern Chinese manners and showed a sound appreciation of old Chinese virtues: "At the time of the scholars of the Sung dynasty, people were more watchful still about the work of 'rectifying the heart, making the thoughts sincere, and

cultivating the person'. But at present the Chinese pay no attention to these things." There are Chinese scholars who find the inspiration of Confucius in *The Three Principles of the People*. According to Sir R. F. Johnston "a learned and spirited defence" of a theory that the foundations of these lectures by Sun were Confucian is made in a valuable work by Tai Chi-t'ao.

One of the most remarkable features of Sun's work is its encyclopaedic range—its references to European and American history, to Western political books, to ancient Chinese customs and classical writings, and to many branches of science.

To an English reader the conclusions drawn from European history are often of doubtful value. Many would not be endorsed by impartial Westerners though they are interesting in exhibiting a Far Eastern point of view. Other comments, as for instance that the Treaty of Versailles was "an unjust treaty", evoked scorn from commentators at the time but would be accepted now more generally.

An English reader of the first Chinese edition remarked that the language was clear and meant to be understood by the ordinary citizen. "It was," he said, "simpler than the average Chinese newspaper."¹⁷⁸ Sun had lost none of his genius for simple and convincing expression. Although he was often verbose some of his phrases are very concise. At the age of twenty-eight when formulating proposals for reform, he expressed the fundamental principles of occidental civilisation thus: "To enable man to exert his utmost capability; to utilise land to its utmost fertility; to use nature to her utmost utility; and to circulate goods with the utmost fluidity".¹⁷⁹

In part this clarity is due to the way facts are simplified—a practice that irritates pedants. An example of this, which illustrates also Sun's real liability to err, is the statement that in France "every unmarried man of thirty, and every unmarried woman of twenty is fined". D'Elia points out that in France there was no direct fine on the unmarried but only a substantial tax reduction for the married, plus children's allowances and an increased tax for persons of either sex over thirty who had no dependants. Sun's statement was therefore correct in the main, but wrong as regards women of twenty. His error may have been due to ignorance or to the belief that the point expressed in that way would be better understood by a Chinese audience. This kind of error is not uncommon in Sun's work and is due primarily to over-simplification and to the difficulty of expounding Western ways and ideas to a general audience in China.

Other unimportant errors abound, as for instance the strange

reference to Scotland as an island and to the quotation of "the English proverb 'might is right'" as though the words expressed an English ideal!

Sun was fond of quoting statistics and was frequently wrong. Some allowance may be made for the fact that reliable statistics were almost unknown in China, but there is less excuse for the wild inaccuracy of some of the western ones and it may be Sun gave way to the common temptation of lecturers to risk exactness in figures.

Some of the details of Sun's proposals are remarkable for their vision and grasp of practical matters as, for instance, an argument against building a railway from Canton to Macao because the volume of traffic could be handled more cheaply by road transport. In political theory Sun was also far-seeing as when he observed: "Today democracy is the great world problem", and, again, "Parliamentary government does not solve the question of democracy".

Enough has been said about the first two of Sun's three principles—national solidarity and democracy—but controversy rages round the third, which is commonly rendered The Principle of Livelihood or Social Welfare. It has been pointed out with justice that Sun's teaching is sufficiently vague to allow almost any political orthodoxy to derive support from it; but Sun was not orthodox and did not make the error of supposing a political creed could be torn up by the roots in Europe and replanted in China to produce the same fruit.

Sun could not avoid using western terms like "socialism" and "communism" but what he meant by these terms, although by no means always clear, was certainly unique. The reader who thinks in terms of western party politics will find Sun's lectures full of contradictions and lacking in logic.

"Why do I not today speak of socialism as the foreigners do?" said Sun in the first lecture on The Third Principle, "Why do I use that old Chinese expression *min-sheng* (people's life) instead of *She-hiu-chiu* (socialism)? "But later he claims that The Third Principle "is communism, it is socialism. . . . Let those who advocate it examine it in detail."

A Harvard professor who made a study of the Chinese revolution wrote:

"There is no evidence in these lectures that Sun Yat-sen modified his economic and social program in any respect in order to make it more attractive to his new Communist allies, Russian or Chinese. On the contrary, he remained to the end definitely opposed to dogmatic or so-called scientific socialism. He should be described as a social reformer with a disposition to

favor socialist measures or, better, as a social revolutionist with a disposition to temporize with capitalism."¹⁸⁰

To attempt to summarise *The Three Principles of the People* in a few pages would be foolish. It is enough to point out that Sun believed in an economic planning involving readjustments in the relations of labour and capital; new land laws, retaining private ownership, with state regulation to stop abuses and with an ingenious system of land taxation; some industrialisation in which capitalism would work "side by side with socialism"; improved communications; the application of scientific methods to China's successful but overstrained agriculture; and, in foreign affairs, the abolition of the unequal treaties. In general, he favoured state ownership of public utilities and enterprises large enough to constitute a monopoly.

The new programme was not to be obtained by making all equal. "The present calamity of China is poverty not inequality," said Sun; and there was to be no "class war". "If we pay no attention to each man's intellectual endowments and capacities and push down those who rise to a high position in order to make all equal, the world will not progress and mankind will retrocede."¹⁸¹ One of Sun's favourite expressions was "under Heaven all men shall work for the common good". He was critical of unproductive work. In a conversation with Judge Linebarger on "middle men" he said:

"Under ideal conditions, society does not need salesmen or any inducement to buy. If a thing is good, and the price reasonable, it should sell itself on its own merits without any salesmanship. This vast army of middle men should hence be made to remember that they should expect no more from the non-productive calling in which they are employed than any other citizen obtains through hard labour."¹⁸²

Notwithstanding the numerous references to foreign imperialism, Sun is prepared to credit foreigners with high ideals. At the end of one lecture he said: "We who want to solve the social question in China have the same aim as the foreigners. That aim is to make it possible for all the inhabitants of the country to live happily without suffering from the unequal distribution of wealth."¹⁸³

It is easy to see why *The Three Principles of the People*, as lectures, appealed so strongly to Sun's audiences. They contain many allusions to Chinese history and literature, many stories of western countries and western history, and many illustrations drawn from everyday life, including some which revealed the human and essentially Chinese outlook of the lecturer himself. They are not without humour, though Sun Yat-sen was of a serious disposition.

Above all, they have a moral appeal in such passages as "We should use our old moral values and our love of peace as the foundation of national reconstruction", and "although men may be born with different grades of intelligence, all possess equal moral consciousness, the consciousness of doing good to others. This is the essence of equality."¹⁸⁴

The old Chinese idea of government by scholars and the division of society into classes based on intellect and worth to the community rather than on wealth, is, to some extent, revived by Sun when he suggests men may be divided into three classes—men of genius who create, invent and originate; the intelligent who imitate and follow the men of genius; and the unthinking who do what the others tell them. D'Elia gives a literal translation of Sun's names for these three classes—pre-seeing, post-seeing, and non-seeing. Naturally the three classes must co-operate and, although there are these differences of intellect, all men have equal powers of developing moral consciousness.¹⁸⁵

The Three Principles of the People is by far the most important of Sun's writings, but it was supplemented by shorter works. His *Plans for National Reconstruction* and *Fundamentals of National Reconstruction* include matters which have been mentioned already in the chapter "Post-War Planning" and in references to The Five-fold Constitution.

Sun knew far more than most statesmen about the constitutions of other countries and the historical developments that led to them. He was always seeking an ideal constitution for China and his Five-fold Constitution seemed to him both original and complex. He said:

"When I was at Nanking, my professor in jurisprudence was a Japanese Doctor of Laws; I discussed very many questions with him. After the failure of the second revolution, I went to Japan and again met him. He asked me what I called the 'Fivefold Constitution'. I explained it to him in detail, and after we had lived together for about three months he at last grasped it."¹⁸⁶

Sun defined a constitution as "the machine of compromise between liberty and government" and to the usual threefold constitution, comprising legislature, executive and judicature, he proposed to add two controls which, in a popular lecture, he called "impeachment power" and "examining power". "If citizens have the right of election," he declared, "they should also have the right of dismissing the officials whom they elect." Two controls were proposed, one to examine candidates for public offices, the other to "impeach" officers who failed to do their duty and to audit public accounts. In

the old Manchu days it was common for officials to receive only very nominal salaries which, it was understood, were supplemented by graft. The whole Chinese civil service needed a strict control in this matter, and Sun's proposals were intended to meet this need.

The Fundamentals of National Reconstruction, dated April 12, 1924, was an interesting reversal of previous policy. The first attempt had been to reform the central government and afterwards tackle reforms in the provincial and local governments. The new policy aimed at working up from the bottom. It also divided reconstruction into three stages, on the lines Sun advocated when the republic was established—military government, tutelage under party control and full constitutional government. These stages were not to be inaugurated everywhere at the same time. Any administrative district could pass from one to another, as soon as it was ready to do so.

The two documents relating to National Reconstruction and *The Three Principles of the People* are especially important because, in his Will, Sun Yat-sen commended them to his countrymen as a general guide to the future policy of China. He mentioned at the same time the *Manifesto* of the Kuomintang. Of this *Manifesto*, Professor Holcombe says:

"The *Manifesto* squarely committed the revolutionary party to the kind of nationalism that President Wilson's Fourteen Points encouraged in all parts of the world, to the kind of democracy that could tolerate no dictatorship by a privileged class, not even if that class were the proletariat, and to the kind of social amelioration that is anathema in the eyes of the followers of Marx and Lenin. It bears the stamp of the personality of Sun Yat-sen and breathes his spirit."¹⁸⁷

When a dictator, a Hitler or a Mussolini, makes a speech no-one knows what thoughts are in his mind, for his words are meant to rule the masses. He says what he wants men to believe; and he justifies a lie with the argument that it is for the good of the people to believe it. Sun Yat-sen was guilty of inaccuracy, exaggeration and even distortion, but he never intentionally misled the people. He had such faith in the Chinese masses that he considered it unnecessary to disguise what was in his mind. In *Tao Te Ching*, a classic of Taoism, there is a true and difficult saying, "the goodness of speech consists in its being reliable". Sun's speech was often not reliable, but in his speeches he said always what he believed to be true. It is easy to find fault with his written work but the task he attempted was immense and, with the passing of time, it is seen that many of his ideals are not so unattainable as they first appeared.

PART EIGHT

"A sacrifice to the dead is a piling up of memories and intentions, of thoughts and longings. . . . Thus it was that former kings established this beautiful cult, and the justice of honouring the honourable and loving the beloved reached its perfection."

Hsun Ch'ing (c. 298-238 B.C.).

"There is an end to the fingers which feed the twigs to the fire; but the fire is transmitted, and no-one knows when it will be put out."

Chuang Chou (died about 280 B.C.).

Both translations from *Chinese Philosophy in Classical Times*,
by E. R. Hughes, M.A.

THE DEATH OF A NATIONAL HERO

UNTIL Sun's marriage to Chingling Soong he had no home and no-one to care for his comfort or keep an eye on his health. His physique must have been excellent to stand the strain of continuous travel, cheap lodgings, foreign foods, long speeches to large audiences and late night discussions with men who laboured all day; to say nothing of the nervous tension of a life haunted by spies. Dr. Cantlie said, "When he accompanied us to dinner at a friend's house, there was the inevitable spy or detective following us, and when we started to come home we were made aware of being watched and followed".¹⁸⁸ In one of his books Sun mentions "a stomach ailment which was almost incurable" and which necessitated giving up meat, milk and eggs, so that for years he ate only boiled rice, vegetables and a little fish. He claimed, however, that this diet restored his health completely.

Chingling had been brought up in a comfortable Shanghai house and in the comparative luxury of America, so that after Sun's marriage his old vagabond ways were forgotten. Shanghai enjoyed a post-war trade boom and the well-to-do friends of the Soong family lived like prosperous folk of any other city, owning motor-cars and celebrating family festivals with dinners and similar entertainments. The Suns avoided anything like luxury though they entertained American and European friends with conventional liberality. Chingling was always eager for news of social life in the occident—of new plays and operas and books. The Rue Molière home was attractive

and both Sun and his wife enjoyed their croquet parties and other simple pleasures. They were, however, too occupied with work to have much time for anything else.

Once, when the Suns were living in Canton, there was a sudden threat from a War Lord who brought his troops close to their house. Sun, with characteristic bravery, decided to go and reason with the man but the situation was dangerous and he did not want to leave his wife alone, especially after her previous exciting escape from a somewhat similar affair. So he ordered a Canadian, who served on his personal staff as a general, to remain behind and protect Madame Sun if need arose. Sun went off, alone, to his hazardous task, but when Chingling discovered what had happened she insisted the general should hurry after his leader. In such ways Chingling was always concerned for her husband's safety, but she had more cause to be worried by his health. She noticed, as did others, that he was sometimes unduly tired and overstrained. In one way it was unfortunate that Sun's subordinates in the party were mostly young men of the student class. There were few of his own age on whom he could rely and, as happens so often with outstanding leaders, Sun found it hard to delegate duties. He became more and more difficult to work with. He knew what he wanted and, having worked so much alone, his impulse was to deal with details which he should have left to others. In this way he gave himself insufficient rest and, also, earned a reputation for being arbitrary and obstinate.

During May 1924 the Peking government concluded an agreement with Russia and an ambassador occupied the Russian Legation. It was the first occasion in modern times that a foreign country had sent such a high ranking diplomat to reside in China; a point which gratified the Chinese and further antagonised the officials at the other legations. A few months later war broke out between Peking and a War Lord in the Yangtze valley, and Sun decided to support the Yangtze faction. Sun and Chiang Kai-shek set out from Canton for the north after issuing the inevitable "manifesto". It gave the aims of the Kuomintang in foreign affairs after the expected unification of China:

"The first duty after the battle is won will be to use the power of the Revolutionary Government to clear out all sinister influences of counter-revolution in order to prepare a clear road towards freedom and self-government. We shall then demand the revision of unequal treaties and the abolition of all special privileges in order to protect our national interests in foreign relations and to eradicate the imperialist influence in China. New treaties will be con-

cluded in accordance with the principles of international equality and mutual respect of sovereignty. . . . After the abolition of unequal treaties, China's new laws will be applied throughout her territories, including the existing leased settlements."¹⁸⁹

To Europeans in China at that time these ideals seemed preposterous and even Lyon Sharman, writing in 1934, describes them as "drastic". Today they seem not unreasonable.

While Sun and Chiang were preparing to enter the fray the Peking government was overthrown, and the new government, realising the growing strength of Sun's influence in China, invited him to a conference with a view to reconciliation between North and South. With a reorganised Kuomintang and the effective support of Russia it really looked to Sun as though something might be done. The western Powers, on edge over the increasing Chinese regard for Russia, played into his hands and there was a widespread belief amongst the Chinese that a united China might stand up to the Powers to some purpose. Sun accepted the Peking invitation gladly; and, rather too optimistically, thought a start could be made to turn The Three Principles into a reality. With his usual vigour he formulated proposals for the calling of a national body to act as a Reorganisation Conference, truly representative of all sections of Chinese opinion except the War Lords. He included Labour organisations, farmers, universities, student unions, educational associations, representatives of the armies other than those of the northern War Lords, political parties, industrialists and Chambers of Commerce. These proposals were sent at once to Peking while Sun and his wife prepared to leave Canton for the northern capital.

There had been serious trouble in The City of Rams with a private militia, known as The Merchants' Volunteer Corps. Street fighting broke out in which many were killed and a large number of buildings destroyed by fire. Chen Chiung-ming was also again on the war path. But if affairs in Canton were still far from satisfactory and immediate circumstances gloomy, the long-term prospects were brighter than they had been for some time and a less hopeful man than Sun Yat-sen might have been encouraged. This last journey was, in a sense, a triumphal progress because everywhere the masses, for whom Sun cared so deeply, turned out to welcome him. On the eve of his departure there was a dinner to celebrate his birthday and then, on November 13th, Sun, accompanied as always by Chingling, went aboard a government cruiser and for the last time saw the beautiful estuary of the Pearl river and the magnificent approach to

the hilly island of Hongkong. At Hongkong Sun's party, including various officials of the southern government, transferred to a Japanese ship, which put in at Shanghai for four days before taking them on to Kobe and thence to Tientsin.

At Shanghai a thousand students with little flags bearing an inscription of welcome gave the Suns a great reception. There were demands for speeches, which Sun fulfilled with his unfailing success; but Chingling knew he was in considerable pain and at Tientsin he had to remain in bed, resting.

An American newspaper, reporting from Japanese sources, declared that Sun, speaking in Kobe, advocated a united Asiatic combine against "European and American oppression" in the interests of world peace; but, since the Japanese were at that time resentful of recent American immigration laws and the report was merely an epitome, it cannot be taken as reliable. There can be little doubt, however, that during his last days Sun thought seriously of a union of the "oppressed" nations to oppose those dominant nations who seemed to him bent on "imperialism".

By the time Sun reached Peking, on December 31st, he was obviously very ill. Soon his friends were murmuring to each other the word "cancer"; then the press gave hints of the dreadful disease, and at last an operation at the Peking Union Medical College Hospital confirmed a long-standing condition of cancer of the liver, that was now incurable. The surgeon, Dr. A. S. Taylor, a former missionary, closed the wound and declared no more could be done. Sun was removed to a private house where, in the company of his family and revolutionist friends, he faced bravely his painful last revolution. The English nurse who tended him in hospital described Sun as "the most unselfish patient she ever nursed. Although racked by pain he had no thought for himself."¹⁹⁰

The Chinese are a reticent people who talk little of their private lives, so one is reluctant to intrude at the dying man's bedside where Chingling, her brother-in-law Dr. H. H. Kung, her brother Dr. T. V. Soong, and her stepson Sun Fo, watched day by day during the six weeks left to the patient after the exploratory operation. But Sun Yat-sen meant so much to the Chinese people that the public affairs in which he was involved claimed much of his remaining strength. He heard the good news that Chiang Kai-shek had defeated the rebel forces of Chen Chiung-ming at Canton, but he was disappointed when Peking disregarded his proposals for the Reorganisation Conference. From his bedroom a message was sent

criticising the basis of representation and the conference's agenda. Sun pointed out that in Europe when a war ends the military men give up their supreme control to civil leaders. While China was in chaos this could not be done but as soon as possible "the people must be restored to the position of masters whom all public servants obey". Later, when the conference met, the Kuomintang took no part in its deliberations and the desired unity of China was again postponed.

Of greater public importance were the last documents signed by Sun and it is necessary to say something of them, not only on account of their importance but because controversy has raged over the circumstances of their signature. Writers who wish to belittle Sun and those who look askance on everything done by Russia since Tsarist days, declare a plot was hatched around the death-bed to prepare for the apotheosis of this man. He was, they say, made into a nation's hero by obsequial pageantry and by documents which, in some suspicious way, he was induced to sign while yet he could hold a brush. The weakness of this argument, apart from its lack of direct evidence, is that those who support it invariably deny Sun any greatness and speak of him as a man who died discredited in the eyes of his countrymen and abroad—one writer predicts that if Sun had not died when he did he "would either have been assassinated or once more found it necessary to seek refuge abroad!" The critics do not explain why the Russians should have chosen such an unpopular man to be made into a popular hero or how the Chinese, who are not an unsagacious race, should have been so quickly and so easily deceived.

It is stated by Sharman that Borodin came to Peking especially to see Sun and from that it is inferred the Russian diplomat was, in part, responsible for the documents the dying man signed. It appears, however, that Borodin only once saw Sun during these last six weeks and then only when Sun was "already half-unconscious" a few hours before he died.

As the news spread through China that Sun Yat-sen was dying there was something like consternation in the Kuomintang. Men who, in the past, disputed with the leader, resenting his unyielding purpose and leaving his presence half-angry, now asked, "who can take his place?" Others who were ambitious and had cause to envy Sun's popularity now began edging their way forward. What would happen when he, who had so dominated the councils of the party, was no more: when he, who had been elected so recently President

for life, was dead? Nothing was more natural than that those who felt a responsibility for the party's future should desire some final message from the old leader.

Amongst those who came north with Sun, and who now had access to the sick room, there were all shades of opinion from extreme left to extreme right and it may be there were differences of opinion expressed, but of this there is no evidence. Wang Ching-wei, who was Chief-of-Staff and also Head of the Propaganda Department, drafted in Chinese the short message now known as Sun's Will. Sun approved the wording which is, indeed, an admirable and sober statement of his opinions at that time. When it was read to him he said, "Very good! Very good!" It has been called the Declaration of Independence of revolutionary China.

"For forty years I have devoted myself to the cause of the National Revolution, the object of which is to raise China to a position of independence and equality [among the nations]. The experience of these forty years has convinced me that, to attain this goal, the people must be aroused and that we must associate ourselves in a common struggle with all the peoples of the world who treat us as equals.

"The Revolution is not yet finished. Let all our comrades follow [the principles and methods set forth in] my writings, the *Plans of National Reconstruction*, the *Three Principles of the People*, and the *Manifesto*, issued by the First National Convention of our Party, and continue to make every effort to carry them into effect. Above all, my recent declarations in favor of holding a National Convention of the People of China and abolishing the unequal treaties should be carried into effect as soon as possible.

"This is my last will and testament.

"March 11, 1925.

(Signed) Sun Wen."¹⁹¹

Wang drafted at the same time the family Will:

"Having devoted my life entirely to the service of the people, I have not had an opportunity to build up a personal fortune. I bequeath all I possess, my books, clothes, house and the rest, to my wife, Soong Chingling. My children are grown up and well able to take care of themselves. I hope they will agree to this arrangement and continue the work which I have left unfinished."¹⁹²

These two wills were approved by Sun a fortnight before his death but he would not sign them, saying it was not yet necessary. The day before his death he called for them and signed them. There were eight witnesses of the public Will, including T. V. Soong and Sun Fo. At least three of the witnesses belonged to the extreme right wing of the party. All who were present knew the importance of this Will and, of course, intended it should be used after Sun's death to rally the party and focus attention on the essentials of his programme.

There was a third document, signed by Sun a few hours before he died—a letter addressed to the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. This was drafted in English by Eugene Chen, a Chinese born in the British West Indies who, at this time, strongly favoured alliance with Russia against the “imperialism” of Britain. A few years later, when Britain handed back some concessions to China, Chen wished to adopt a friendly policy to Britain and quarrelled with Borodin over the matter. There seems no doubt Sun signed Chen’s letter and that it more or less expressed his views:

“While I lie here in a malady against which men are powerless, my thoughts are turned towards you and towards the fates of my Party and my country.

“You are at the head of the union of free republics—that heritage left to the oppressed peoples of the world by the immortal Lenin. With the aid of that heritage the victims of imperialism will inevitably achieve emancipation from that international régime whose foundations have been rooted for ages in slavery, wars, and injustice.

“I leave behind me a Party which, as I always hoped, will be bound up with you in the historic work of the final liberation of China and other exploited countries from the yoke of imperialism. By the will of fate I must leave my work unfinished and hand it over to those who, remaining faithful to the principles and teachings of the Party, will thereby be my true followers.

“Therefore I charge the Kuomintang to continue the work of the revolutionary nationalist movement, so that China, reduced by the imperialists to the position of a semi-colonial country, shall become free.

“With this object I have instructed the Party to be in constant contact with you. I firmly believe in the continuance of the support which you have hitherto accorded to my country.

“Taking my leave of you, dear comrades, I want to express the hope that the day will soon come when the U.S.S.R. will welcome a friend and ally in a mighty, free China, and that in the great struggle for the liberation of the oppressed peoples of the world both those allies will go forward to victory hand in hand.”¹⁹³

All sorts of interpretations were read into this letter, according to political taste, but Russia had given considerable help to the Kuomintang and Sun may have feared that with his death this support would cease. The letter did, in fact, bring a cabled promise from Stalin of continued help.

An English writer refers to Sun Yat-sen’s religion rather neatly in the phrase “A Christian most of the time and a man of ideals always.”¹⁹⁴ A very wide religious tolerance is characteristic of the Chinese, most of whom see nothing incongruous in mixing Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism, so that a narrow interpretation of Christianity is not to be expected of a convert. Sun once said: “I

do not belong to the Christianity of the churches but to the Christianity of Jesus who was a revolutionary". In the *Three Principles of the People*, Sun said: "When one of His twelve disciples saw that Jesus had not carried out a programme of political revolution, he betrayed his Master. He did not understand that Jesus was a religious revolutionary leader, and that Jesus called His kingdom the Kingdom of Heaven."¹⁹⁵ Orthodox Christians agree that the teaching of Jesus is revolutionary, but some might dispute Sun's interpretation of the word.

As Sun lay dying he seized the hand of his brother-in-law and exclaimed, "You are a Christian; I, too, am a Christian". He also said, "I am a messenger of God to help men to obtain equality and freedom". This sense of a mission inspired by God first came to Sun during the ordeal in the Chinese Legation when death seemed inescapable; it had been with him ever since but only at the end of his last ordeal, as death touched him, did he express the knowledge of it with such directness. Mixed with all the recent anti-foreign talk there had been criticism of missionaries as agents of imperialism and it is reported Sun himself spoke loosely to that effect. Now, on his death-bed, he turned to one of his left-wing supporters and said: "Don't make trouble for the Christians".

On March 12, 1925, at the age of fifty-eight, Sun Yat-sen died uttering the words, "peace", "struggle" and "save China".

There was a Christian funeral service on March 19th conducted by a Congregational minister, Dr. Timothy Tino-fang Liu, in the chapel of the medical college. Amongst the friends of the family who attended were a number of Americans and Europeans; and countless Chinese—northerners of Peking, too!—crowded the streets around the college paying their tribute: for, already, this man was China's national hero. Those who could force their way into the street between the college and the chapel watched in wonder the foreign-style cortège, as it moved slowly to the chapel, the bearers being followed by a surpliced choir carrying candles. When the procession vanished inside the foreign "Worship Hall" the crowd remained, waiting in silence, listening to those within singing Sun Yat-sen's favourite hymns.

THE TESTAMENT OF A LEADER

"The most important thing in life is to be well buried," so runs the proverb, and nowhere are funeral rites more important than

in China. On the outskirts of The City of Rams is an ancient dwelling known as The House of the Dead. Its two hundred and fifty chambers are occupied by coffined corpses awaiting a necromancer's verdict as to the "auspicious day" for interment; a day that may not come for many months. In the more expensive apartments of this silent lodging-house the rooms are partitioned, so that each coffin lies alone in an inner sanctuary, while in the ante-room an almost full-sized model of the departed stands amidst some of the familiar trinkets of this mortal life. Beside the model is a scroll on which is inscribed an obituary, recording a brief history of the deceased and ticketing his virtues.

After the Christian burial service, Sun Yat-sen's body lay in state in the Central Park of Peking, draped with the flag of Nationalist China. For three weeks the leader who never lacked an audience was the centre of life in the northern capital. Schoolchildren, students, coolies, shopkeepers, visiting farmers, soldiers and even scholars passed in solemn procession before the set face of this man from the south; who had, in every living moment, put China first in his thoughts, and who strove with vigour through all his life to ease the burden that weighs so heavily on the masses of his fellow-men.

Thereafter, the body was taken in a Chinese coffin to the Azure Cloud Temple in the Western Hills, ten miles from Peking, where it remained for the next five disturbed years as though awaiting History's verdict as to an "auspicious day" for its final interment. Then, when the Kuomintang triumphed and Nanking became again the capital of China with new life stirring its modernised streets, a huge granite and marble mausoleum was prepared on Purple Mountain overlooking the city. To this imposing tomb was brought in great pomp the body of the leader who, all his life, lived in great simplicity.

After Sun's death the political party of his creation made him the centre of a cult. Enormous pictures of the leader appeared on the walls of public buildings with the Will inscribed beneath. In schools the Will was read aloud every week. The subtle skill of modern propaganda in varied forms kept alive his memory and turned his teaching into almost sacred canons. Criticism was stifled to such an extent that, it is said, some Chinese feared to write freely of the national hero.

What eulogists said *after* Sun Yat-sen died and the praiseful obituaries that filled the press at the time are more the concern of history than biography. We seek to see only the man as he was

and, having followed his life story, we need no obituary scroll, such as is fashionable in The House of the Dead, labelling him as belonging to this or that type. We are, however, concerned with the impression he made on his contemporaries; and, moreover, the reaction of those who resented the cult-movement raises some doubts which must be resolved.

Shortly before Sun died, the *Weekly Review of the Far East* took a ballot to ascertain the opinion of educated Chinese as to the man they most esteemed. Sun Yat-sen headed the list by a very large majority. When he died there were spontaneous lamentations that could not have been induced by any machinery of propaganda; and in Hawaii, and other distant places where Chinese dwell, the first anniversary of his death inspired, quite naturally, memorial services that had little to do with the so-called cult in China.

Of the cult itself it is worth recording the opinion of an experienced foreign observer, nine years after Sun's death:

"It is true that the forms and ceremonies have already become to many a mere ritual. Yet it is possible in many places to step into a memorial ceremony such as is held weekly in all schools, and to feel that just those elements in human nature which have been called out by religion have been enlisted for this new rite. When Dr. Sun's will is read aloud there is a sense of the whole group being united in a common purpose such as a great religious objective gives. It is a purpose in which individual wills are merged and private aims lost sight of. When the picture of the dead leader is looked upon, hearts are stirred to loyalty and emulation at the thought of one who spared not himself for the good of his people, and who died without having seen the fulfilment of his dream. To follow him and make that dream come true becomes, at least for a moment, an absorbing thought. In the silence may arise that consciousness of dedicated spirits girding themselves in mutual self-sacrifice to a supreme effort. When the three bows are made, reverence of the hero passes over for some into a worshipful temper."¹⁹⁶

It has been said, with some reason, that Sun's death was more important to China than his life; and it is true his person and teaching, as it has been impressed on the Chinese people, did much to give China a sense of nationhood and to help her over the inevitable and awkward period of adjustment to a mechanised and scientific world. His contribution would have been less effective if there had been no Kuomintang to canonise him, but it is somewhat of a quibble to aver that Sun Yat-sen was not great because his greatness was thrust upon him by the party he created!

The cult is, in part, responsible for the violence of some of the criticism of Sun and his work. The scurrilous critics may be ignored,

but when we remember that J. Ellis Barker considered Sun "a really great man in the fullest sense of the word" and "likely to be classed in history amongst the world's greatest men", it is odd to find so distinguished a diplomat as Sir John Pratt making only trivial and partisan references to Sun in his *War and Politics in China*.

The author of this important book is highly critical of what others have written, but such references as he makes to Sun Yat-sen are often contentious. He quotes at length a disparaging portrait of Sun from *The Communist International* (in spite of having himself described this book as "highly inaccurate") and agrees with its suggestion that "vagueness in practice and theory" was Sun's "outstanding characteristic". It would be easy to quote able historians and other writers of integrity, who found in Sun Yat-sen outstanding characteristics that were noble; but the point of Sun's vagueness must be met. The complaint is curious, coming from a writer with such long experience of China, for what the Western mind considers "vagueness" is a very common quality of the Chinese and, therefore, hardly remarkable. In an earlier, and fascinating, chapter of his book, Sir John Pratt explains that one of the greatest weaknesses of the Chinese character is the importance attached to appearance rather than to reality. This characteristic is, surely, the twin brother of "vagueness"? But, in fact, Sun Yat-sen was what another critic called "blunt and forthright" and, again, "not a man who played twisted diplomatic tricks". His directness and bluntness were so marked as to astonish those Westerners who knew him and who were accustomed to the more circumlocutory ways of the East. Confucius and his followers taught the Chinese to demand moral qualities in their leaders and the reverence of the ordinary people for Sun Yat-sen was due mainly to his moral courage and unselfish devotion to his principles. Opinions differ as to the soundness of these principles, but they were not vague. Can it be said that Sun's attitude was vague in the vital matter of the Consortium Loan of 1913?

It is easy to see the difficulties confronting any diplomat in China during the awkward years through which Sun lived, and the anti-foreign movement, for which Sun was in part responsible, threw a heavy and sad burden on those who had to provide for the safety of foreigners in China, but one cannot help feeling that relations between China and the Powers would have been happier if British diplomats, and other foreigners, had received part of their training in South China instead of all of it in Peking.

There is a tendency on the part of some critics to argue that Sun Yat-sen had really little to do with the revolution, since he was not even in China when it broke out; that the revolution was not caused by the revolutionists but was, rather, an evolutionary development in the struggle between central authority and local district control; and, even, that the importance of the revolution has been exaggerated. These notions are hardly convincing but they contain an element of truth.

Perhaps the most striking tribute ever paid to Sun came from Dr. G. E. Morrison, *The Times* correspondent. Morrison was described by the contemporary United States Minister to China as "the most noted adviser" of the Peking government, with a mind that was "analytical and critical rather than constructive". "Like most British in China," wrote the American Minister, "he was animated with a sincere wish to see the Chinese get ahead, and was distressed by the obstacles which a change for the better encountered at every step."¹⁹⁷ Dr. Morrison, looking through his Peking spectacles, considered that Sun Yat-sen was the main obstacle to Chinese progress and was bitterly hostile to the Southern government and its leader. His position as adviser to the "recognised" Peking government, and his connection with *The Times*, gave him great influence which he used to alienate British sympathy from Sun and his cause. When Dr. Morrison retired from China he settled in London and just before he died he asked Sun's old friend, Sir James Cantlie, to come and see him. "If I had appreciated," he said, "the character of Sun Yat-sen years ago as I do now, the history of China would have been different, and I would like you to make that known."¹⁹⁸

It is easy to find keys to some of the prejudices expressed by foreign residents outside the diplomatic and political groups. The majority of Westerners in China lived in the Treaty ports or Concessions, where they had singularly little contact with the people of China. Only rarely did they trouble to learn anything about the Chinese. This was natural and understandable, but how could such persons feel any warmth from the burning desire of Sun Yat-sen to help the illiterate and undernourished "man-with-little"? Such foreigners demanded only satisfactory conditions for trade; an assurance their Concession would never be taken from them; and a row of seats along the Bund on which no Chinese dared to sit. They argued that the prosperity of the Treaty ports was made by foreigners; that wealthy Chinese were glad enough to settle

under the shelter of Western-administered Law, and, in short, that foreigners had done so much for China that talk of "Unequal Treaties" and "imperialism" was just the nonsense of politics. They saw Sun Yat-sen taking his daily stroll in a Shanghai park, reading as he walked some book of Western history or political economy, and it seemed to them ingratitude or even hypocrisy when he denounced foreign activities in China. When news came to the clubs and bars of the cosmopolitan city that Sun was actually "taking up" with the Russians, their feelings overwhelmed their judgment. If, instead, Sun Yat-sen had toed-the-line with the foreign bankers he might have been acclaimed in the Concessions as a realist and the saviour of China; but, in that case, would China have celebrated the end of the Unequal Treaties within twenty years of his death?

Some foreigners were influenced by Japanese propaganda which, working on the old antipathy between north and south, aimed at preventing the unity of China.

On the other hand it must not be forgotten that, while the Chinese revolution was carried through with singularly little loss of foreign life, the anti-foreign campaign had its ugly incidents and for considerable periods, especially *after* Sun's death, foreign residents lived in an atmosphere inimical to good-understanding. On the anniversaries of Sun's death the public celebrations throughout China, besides emphasising the purely Chinese side of the Nationalist party's work—the overthrow of corrupt Manchus, the elimination of northern War Lords, The Three Principles of the People and anti-opium propaganda—almost always had some anti-foreign aspect, such as a poster showing a terrified soldier in foreign uniform being driven off the edge of a map of China by stalwart Chinese! Those who believe that Sun Yat-sen is, in part, a fictitious character exploited by clever men for their own political ends must make allowance, too, for the reactionary movement against the cult. It is not irrelevant to add that with a change in British policy, a few years after Sun's death, the friendly relations between the Chinese and British peoples, which, in the long run, rest on likenesses of national character, were to a large extent restored.

The foreign residents in Sun's day were not all diplomats or business men. A very important group were the two thousand or more Christian missionaries scattered all over the country from the big city hospitals to remote villages. They knew the life of China as did few other foreigners, because they travelled widely, visiting many of the innumerable villages in which more than three-quarters

of the Chinese people live, and because it was their business to share the daily life of the common people. They appreciated to the full Sun's citation of such proverbs as "When saving a man from poverty immediate help is needed" and "Only a man who has been fed and clothed can observe all the ceremonies". Missionaries, generally, welcomed the Double Tenth in 1911 because of its promise of better social conditions and cleaner politics and, if their early hopes were dashed, their later judgments found much for which they could be thankful. One who had thirty-two years' experience in China wrote:

"The lovely old house of China with its filial piety, its courtesy, its veneration for ancestors and all things old, was coming down. There were beautiful things in that house, but less beautiful things too. . . . The house of New China was arising. Over the door was blazoned: 'The People's Race, the People's Power, the People's Life'. It was a people's house. Within its walls women were people as well as men. Liberty was prized as well as tradition, and the whole atmosphere was throbbing with new life.

"That was why, in spite of all the dust and hurt of falling debris, in spite of the lower status to which the foreign resident was being reduced, and of the limitations that might be imposed upon him, our mood changed from one of earlier misunderstanding and resentment to one of sympathy and backing for this new China in which we were privileged to be alive. The Nationalist Party with its high ideals was triumphant: after that, anything good might happen."¹⁹⁹

It would be foolish to ascribe all this progress to Sun Yat-sen. Many played their part, including missionaries, diplomats and other foreigners, but it cannot be denied that Sun's leadership and the high ideals he so often expressed did, in fact, play a major part.

So much for the views of Sun's foreign contemporaries. It is difficult to assess Chinese opinions, for some who might have criticised freely refrained out of loyalty to a leader, or fear of party wrath, or in the belief that criticism would injure the new-found unity of China. It may well be that some who knew Sun Yat-sen will yet disclose matters of considerable historical and biographical value. Our opinion of the man may have to be changed, as the comparatively recent publication of Dr. Morrison's final verdict must have shaken the views of those who accepted his earlier opinions.

Amongst Chinese scholars and students there was, at first, a tendency to stand aloof from Sun's movement because of its plebeian nature, but it was not long before the younger men of this class accepted his leadership. Sun was undoubtedly fortunate in that his efforts coincided with a spontaneous movement towards reform. It

is characteristic of the young of all races to be intolerant of anything that savours of hypocrisy, and many a middle-aged leader fails to get the support of youth because his quite worthy compromises are rashly condemned as dissimulation. The absolute sincerity of Sun's speeches appealed strongly to students. No orator, in any land, ever had such widespread success as did Sun; but a Chinese who often sat on Sun's platform and listened to him speaking, three to four hours on end, says that it was not so much the matter of his speeches that held the audiences as the personality of the man—his sincerity and an obstinate belief that you have only to show ordinary folk a vision of what is true and they will respond by acting up to the truth. Mencius said: "The great man is one who has never lost the heart of a child". Sun Yat-sen was one who never lost the faith of youth in the goodness of human nature. He could be bitter about what he felt hurt China—about opium, superstition or imperialism—and he could make playful digs at his enemies, but he never failed to demand, in his vigorous and serious way, unselfish service for the common good. Only those who have forgotten what it is to be young can wonder at Sun Yat-sen's popularity with students.

Nora Waln has given us a vivid picture of Sun's leadership, only a few months before he died. Four afternoons a week young students met in the drawing-room of a modern flat in Canton. They came from various provinces and, since they had no common Chinese dialect, carried on their political discussions in the English language:

"One afternoon, Sun Yat-sen came. He stood by Su-ling's tea-table and asked her for tea. As he was recognized, talk ceased, cups and plates were put down. For forty years, longer than the lifetime of any of this group, he had devoted his life to an attempt to elevate China to a state of unity, freedom, and independence. He had accomplished the overthrow of the decadent Manchu dynasty; but again and again, within touch of the establishment of a national Republic, he had failed.

"Yet there was no smirch on his reputation. His life was an open book. These young people held him in the deepest veneration. With his hand resting on the back of Su-ling's exotic cubist painted chair, he asked for three minutes of silence, for self-examination, for consideration of the doctrine of republicanism, and for self-determination. The silence was emotional, yet peaceful and profound. At the end of it, he made the finest call to leadership of the masses that it has ever been my privilege to hear.

"One felt his spirit steady, true, and undaunted. His eyes were bright, his cheeks flushed, his countenance illuminated, his body straight and vigorous. I found it impossible to believe longer the rumour that he was afflicted with a fatal organic malady."²⁰⁰

The corner-stone of Chinese civilisation is Confucianism, or, to be accurate, the teaching of Confucius, and such disciples as Mencius and Tzu Ssu. With the establishment of the republic came a strong movement against Confucianism. Everything was to be brand new and the brand was to be Western. With some justice the revolutionists blamed the old-fashioned educational system for bolstering up a decadent dynasty and keeping at arm's length all Western knowledge. The revolutionists were, in the main, right to blame the system but wrong to blame Confucius; as the Russian revolutionists of 1917 were, in the main, right to condemn the corrupt Russian Christianity of their day but wrong to disavow God.

Confucius was no conservative. Of the duties of a tutor he said: "He who by warming up the Old can gain knowledge of the New is fit to be a teacher".²⁰¹ He foretold calamity for anyone who was always "harking back to the ways of antiquity",²⁰² which is just what the later Manchu rulers did. But accurate thought cannot be expected in mass movements and the revolutionists damned Confucius along with the educational system which harped so faithfully on the golden strings of his aphorisms. For a time Confucian text-books were banned from schools. It was not long, however, before the good sense of the Chinese reasserted itself and Canton became the headquarters of a "Back to the Classics" movement, with a public holiday every year on the birthday of Confucius.

In his speeches Sun Yat-sen often drew illustrations from the classics, and he does not appear to have approved the short anti-Confucian outburst of his fellow-revolutionists; but it was natural that some, who loved the old China for its profound wisdom, should be disgusted by the excesses of Sun's followers and he has been accused of trying to damage the centre piece of China's peerless civilisation, as in his youth he struck at the centre god of his village temple.

The point is important, for in a world where violence is too common, the very fact of being a revolutionist is deplorable. This is an age of economic revolution when a shrunken world seeks, with violence, to reconcile the vast productive capacity of the industrial countries with the vast poverty of the non-industrial countries. This fundamental problem makes revolutionists of us all—in one sense of the term. But Sun Yat-sen was an active revolutionist; who bought pistols; and guns; and planned bloody risings. If his contribution to world brotherhood is measured only in the realm of action, then we may respect his courage, perseverance and selflessness (and these qualities would do well enough for a scroll in The House

of the Dead)—we might, even, echo the opinion of Sir James Cantlie who wrote, "if I were asked to name the most perfect character I ever knew, I would unhesitatingly say Sun Yat-sen"; but we could not justify his supreme place as China's national hero.

A famous historian has described Sun as a "social-philosopher";²⁰³ and we have glanced already at the general shape of his political thought. None of the ready-made political classifications of the West fits him with any grace. He was never a Communist, nor a Socialist within the general meaning of that word; but he was a social revolutionist who could see some place in the Chinese industrial world for private enterprise and the capitalist. Sun Yat-sen's unique contribution was twofold.

Firstly, he realised, as no-one before him, that backward China, in following the Western democracies, must not only catch up to the point they had reached but must take two steps to their one, so as to gain the political liberty they already enjoyed and at the same time enter, with them, the new unfenced field of social security for the People. Sun saw this clearly on his first visit to Europe when The Three Principles of the People took shape in his thoughts. Though China has not yet realised even the approach to social security, as understood in the West, she has seen Sun Yat-sen's vision.

Secondly, in following, and even thinking ahead of, the West Sun did not lose touch with the past. The critics who suppose that he did are mistaken. A Chinese authority, Dr. Yuan Cho-ying, in *La Philosophie Morale et Politique de Mencius*, asserts that Sun was a defender of Confucian doctrine, and Sir Reginald F. Johnston, who was anything but a revolutionist, says that Sun "insisted on the necessity of a return to the old Chinese morality and strongly recommended his countrymen to retain all that was good in Confucian philosophy".

Dr. Richard Wilhelm, the greatest German authority on the Chinese classics, summed up Sun's contribution to modern civilisation in these words:

"The greatness of Sun Yat-sen rests upon the fact that he has found a living synthesis between the fundamental principles of Confucianism and the demands of modern times, a synthesis which, beyond the borders of China, can again become significant to all humanity. . . . Sun Yat-sen has been the kindest of all the revolutionaries of mankind. And the kindness was taken by him from the heritage of Confucius. Hence his intellectual work stands as a connecting bridge between the old and modern ages. And it will be the salvation of China, if she determinedly treads that bridge."²⁰⁴

This judgment does not make allowance for the Christian influences in Sun's youth and early manhood, but it estimates correctly his place in history as a bridge between China's great past and her troubled present; and, possibly, between East and West.

Sun's economic ideas were, at times, too simple to satisfy the experts; his political thinking too disjointed to serve as an exact programme for China; but the critics of his day have been confounded to some extent by the course of world events. The Five-Year plans of Russia, the New Deal of America and the failure of *Laissez-faire* take the edge from any scorn of Sun's eagerness to provide development plans; while The Atlantic Charter is, at least, a recognition of the inter-dependence of the life of nations—a fact Sun was never tired of expounding.

It was natural that a Chinese, educated in an English school and trained in Western medicine, should lack proficiency in classical Chinese, but scholars say that as Sun Yat-sen grew older he constantly improved his calligraphy and his knowledge of the classics. A scroll of characters written by his brush is often reproduced in facsimile and, because it was one of his favourite passages, it is sometimes read aloud in public with his Will. It is a vision of Utopia; the happy state ruled in accordance with the principles of The Great Way, and it is taken from one of the books of *The Record of Rites*, a canon of Confucianism compiled towards the end of the first century B.C.

"Under these blissful conditions, the Empire existed for the good of the people. Virtuous and able men were chosen as rulers, men who cultivated sincerity of speech and kindness in their relations with all. The people, in extending their loving devotion to their own families, were not forgetful of the interests of others. Maintenance was provided for the aged to the end of their lives, employment for the able-bodied, nurture for the young. Tender care was given to the widowed, the orphaned, the childless, the sick. The right of men to the work that suited them, and of women to good homes, was recognised. The production of goods was so regulated that nothing was wasted, while useless accumulations for private use were regarded with disapproval. Labour was so regulated that energy was stimulated, while activity for merely selfish reasons was discouraged. Thus there was no room for the development of a narrow egoism. Robbery and outrage were unknown, hence there was no shutting of outer gates. Such was the age of Ta T'ung—'World Brotherhood'." 205

This is the ideal that Sun Yat-sen borrowed from the past and held up as a mirror to his people, to guide them into the unknown future of China.

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